

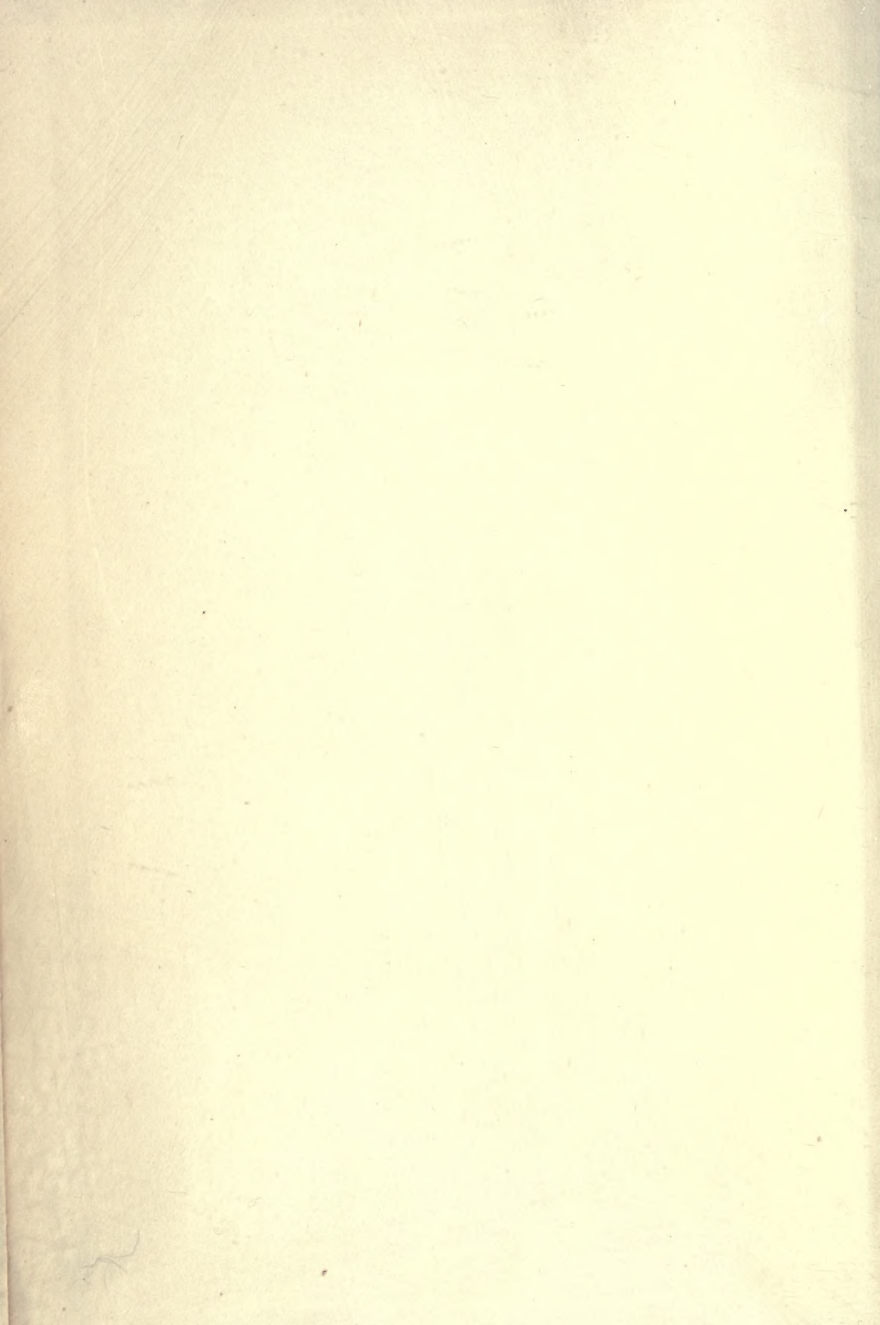
SOME ❖ ❖ ❖  
CRAVEN ❖ ❖  
WORTHIES

















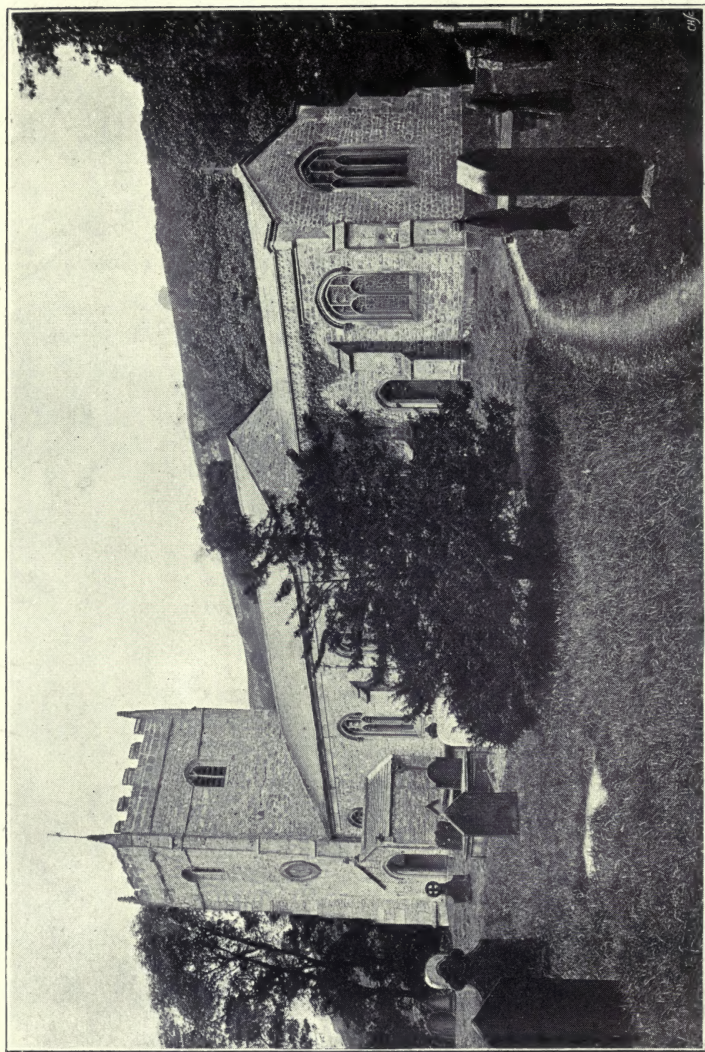


SOME CRAVEN WORTHIES









ARNCLIFFE CHURCH.



~~HE-BC~~  
SOME

# CRAVEN WORTHIES

BY

WILLIAM ARTHUR SHUFFREY, M.A.

VICAR OF ARNCLIFFE WITH HALTON GILL  
AND RURAL DEAN OF THE NORTHERN DIVISION OF THE  
DEANERY OF CRAVEN

'Sepultus, sed non defunctus'



62215  
7/6/04

LONDON

F. E. ROBINSON & CO.

20 GREAT RUSSELL STREET

LEEDS

RICHARD JACKSON

1903

DA  
670  
C8855



## PREFACE

THIS work, which has been accomplished in my leisure hours, is an attempt to keep green a little longer the memory of some remarkable men who were all natives or inhabitants of this Craven district. For it has been remarked that there are few influences on society more wholesome than the fame of its 'Worthies.'

The reader will perhaps admit that there was room for a record of this kind when he is reminded that four of these 'Worthies' have no written memorial. Two of them have only very scanty notices accorded to them in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' and only three of them have obtained a detailed biography in that excellent publication. The author of this work takes this opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to the writers of the articles on 'The Lady Anne Clifford' and 'General John Lambert.' He must also thank numerous friends for information as to dates and names, and for permission to reproduce portraits to illustrate this book.

Perhaps an apology is due to the learned reader, if he finds an absence of references for many of the quotations which are used. But living far from libraries, and with only occasional means of access to the British Museum, and the Bodleian Library, the writer has not been able always to verify his references. Accordingly, they have sometimes been omitted, or only generally given.

ARNCLIFFE VICARAGE,  
*November, 1903.*

## CONTENTS

|  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| THE LADY ANNE CLIFFORD (1589-1676) . . .   | 1    |
| GENERAL LAMBERT (1619-1683) . . .  | 25   |
| EDWARD WILSON, M.A. (1739-1804), CANON OF WINDSOR;<br>PREBENDARY OF GLOUCESTER; RECTOR OF BINFIELD;<br>AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM . . .   | 66   |
| WILLIAM PALEY, D.D. (1743-1805), ARCHDEACON OF<br>CARLISLE, ETC. . . . .   | 116  |
| GEORGE CROFT, D.D. (1747-1809), FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY<br>COLLEGE, OXFORD; VICAR OF ARNCLIFFE; LECTURER OF<br>ST. MARTIN'S, BIRMINGHAM; AND CHAPLAIN TO THE<br>EARL OF ELGIN, ETC. . . . . | 154  |
| MR. THOMAS LISTER (1752-1829), THE FIRST BARON<br>RIBBLESDALE . . . . .  | 180  |
| THOMAS LINDLEY (1754-1847), INCUMBENT OF HALTON<br>GILL . . . . .  | 208  |
| WILLIAM CARR, B.D. (1763-1843), FELLOW OF MAGDALEN<br>COLLEGE, OXFORD; INCUMBENT OF BOLTON ABBEY, ETC. . . . .   | 218  |
| JOHN SAUL HOWSON, D.D. (1816-1885), DEAN OF CHESTER . . . . .  | 234  |
| WILLIAM BOYD, M.A. (1809-1893), ARCHDEACON OF<br>CRAVEN; AND VICAR OF ARNCLIFFE . . . . .  | 247  |





## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

|   | PAGE                |
|---|---------------------|
| ARNCLIFFE CHURCH . . . . .  | <i>Frontispiece</i> |
| PORTRAIT OF THE LADY ANNE CLIFFORD .<br><i>(From a painting in the National Portrait<br/>                     Gallery.)</i>   | <i>facing</i> 1     |
| PORTRAITS OF OLIVER CROMWELL AND LAMBERT<br><i>(From a painting, said to be, by Dobson, in the<br/>                     possession of Sir A. E. Middleton, Bart., of<br/>                     Belsay Castle.)</i> | ,, 25               |
| PORTRAITS OF CANON WILSON AND HIS BROTHER<br><i>(From a picture in the possession of Mr. Martin<br/>                     Knowles, of Long Preston.)</i>   | ,, 66               |
| PORTRAIT OF ARCHDEACON PALEY . . . . .  | ,, 116              |
| THE BOYLE SCHOOL, BOLTON ABBEY, NOW THE<br>RECTORY . . . . .  | ,, 154              |
| PORTRAIT OF THE FIRST BARON RIBBLESDALE .<br><i>(After a painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence.)</i>  | ,, 180              |
| GISBURNE PARK . . . . .   | ,, 198              |
| HALTON GILL CHAPEL AND PARSONAGE . . . . .  | ,, 208              |

|   | PAGE       |
|---|------------|
| PORTRAIT OF MR. WILLIAM CARR . . .<br><i>(After a painting by Bird, in the possession of<br/>           Mr. W. Carr, M.A., J.P., of Ditchingham<br/>           Hall.)</i> | facing 218 |
| PORTRAIT OF DEAN HOWSON . . .   | „ 234      |
| PORTRAIT OF ARCHDEACON BOYD . . .   | „ 247      |







LADY ANNE CLIFFORD.

## THE LADY ANNE CLIFFORD

‘Herein this lady had something like the fate of Noah : saw the times before the flood which sin brought down ; weathered out with patience the time under the floods of war and misery. Faith and Providence building her ark, she lived to see the deluge of blood and war dried up, God in his never-to-be-forgotten mercy clearing the skies and making the sun to shine upon us again.’—BISHOP RAINBOW.

THIS illustrious lady of an illustrious family was born at Skipton Castle on January 30, 1589. The Cliffords, who had through several reigns played an important part in the political history of the North of England, came into possession of their Skipton domains sometime in the thirteenth century. In the Wars of the Roses the family espoused the fortunes of the Lancastrian party, and after the Battle of Wakefield, in 1461, the honours and estates of the ninth lord, John de Clifford, were forfeited to the Crown. The vicissitudes of the career of the ‘Shepherd Lord’ are so well known as not to need any mention here. The family estates were restored to this lord in the reign of Henry VII. The father of the Lady Anne was the celebrated George Clifford, the thirteenth Lord of the Honour of Skipton and third Earl of Cumberland. He was a skilful navi-



gator, who made nine voyages, chiefly to the West Indies. In 1598 he took Porto Rico. He was a great favourite with Queen Elizabeth. At an audience with the Queen after one of his voyages, she dropped a glove, which he took up and presented to her on his knees. She desired him to keep it for her sake, so he adorned it richly with diamonds, and wore it ever after in the front of his hat at public ceremonies. He was one of the Peers who sat in judgment on Mary Queen of Scots.

The mother of the subject of this memoir was the Lady Margaret Russell, the third daughter of Francis, second Earl of Bedford. In her latter years the Lady Anne caused a diary to be written, in which are related briefly the chief events of her long life, and in which she thus describes her person: 'I was like both father and mother, hair brown, very thick, and so long that it reached to the calf of my legs when I stood upright, with a peak of hair on my forehead and a dimple in my chin, like my father; full cheeks and round face, like my mother; and of an exquisite shape of body, resembling my father. But now time and age hath long since ended all those beauties, which are to be compared to the grass of the field.' She adds a few lines further onwards which show that she held the prevailing belief in astrology and the influence of the planets: 'As old Mr. J. Denham, a great astronomer that sometimes lived in my father's house, would often say, I had much in me in nature to show that the sweet influences of the Pleiades and the bands of Orion, mentioned in the 38th chapter of Job, were powerful both at my conception and nativity.'

When she was five years and eight months old—the

age, as she tells us, at which her two brothers died—she had a most desperate sickness, so that she was given over for dead—as she was in 1604—and in her childhood she narrowly escaped death by water, fire, and other great dangers.

The Lady Anne spent most of her youthful days in London. She was carefully educated by Samuel Daniel, a poet of no mean capacity, whose collected works—published in 1599—contain verses addressed to his noble pupil, who caused a monument to be erected to his memory in the church of Beckingham in Somerset bearing this inscription :

‘Here lies, expecting the second coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the dead body of Samuel Daniel, Esqr., that excellent poet and historian, who was tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford in her youth. She was daughter and heir to George, Earl of Cumberland, who in gratitude to him erected this monument to his memory a long time after, when she was Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery.’

He died in 1619. She also erected the monument to Edmund Spenser in Westminster Abbey. From Daniel the Countess imbibed a keen taste for poetry and history. She was afterwards under the guidance and tuition of Mrs. Taylor, and there was amongst the papers at Skipton Castle an account-book (*cf.* Whitaker, 3rd ed., p. 388) containing the items of the expense of her education between the years 1600-1602. The whole sum expended amounted to only £35 13s. 3d., and one item shows that the writing out of the Catechism formed a part of her religious education. When she was fifteen years and nine months of

age her father died at the Savoy House, London, on October 30, 1605, and at nineteen years of age she was married (on February 25, 1608), in her mother's house in Augustine Friars in London, to Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, afterwards the second Earl of Dorset. By this marriage she had three sons, who died in their youth, and two daughters—Margaret, who married John Tufton, afterwards the second Earl of Thanet; and Isabel, who became the wife of James Compton, third Earl of Northampton. The Lady Anne in her diary thus describes her first husband: 'This first lord of mine was in his own nature of a just mind, of a sweet disposition, and very valiant in his own person. He had a great advantage in his breeding by the wisdom and devotion of his grandfather, Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset and Lord High Treasurer of England, who was held one of the wisest men of his time, by which means he was so good a scholar in all manner of learning that in his youth, when he lived in the University of Oxford, his said grandfather being at that time Chancellor of that University, there was none of the young nobility then students there that excelled him. He was also a good patriot to his country, and generally well beloved in it, and much esteemed of by all the Parliament which sat in his time, and so great a lover of scholars and soldiers as that, with an excessive bounty towards them, or, indeed, any of worth that were in distress—as that he did much diminish his estate, as also with excessive prodigality in housekeeping, and other noble ways at Court, as tilting, masquing, and the like, Prince Henry being then alive.'



It was this lord who built and endowed the alms-house at East Grinstead, now known as Sackville College. The marriage was not a happy one. The Countess speaks of having crosses and contradictions with her lord because she would not sell her lands for money. Whitaker (3rd ed., p. 389) quotes from a letter in which she speaks of 'having been turned out of her lord's house at Whitehall.' And she and her mother had other troubles, after her father's death, with an uncle and cousin concerning the family estates.

It appears that her mother instituted several lawsuits for the recovery of estates which had been seized by her husband's brother when he assumed the title of Earl of Cumberland on his brother's death, and when the matter was referred to King James, he gave a decision in the Earl's favour. But the Lady Anne refused to sign the document in which she was asked to cut the ancient entail, by which a certain portion of the property was annexed to the Barony of Clifford, which devolved upon the Lady Anne at her father's death; and, to make matters worse, a writ was issued on February 17, 1628, to her cousin, Henry Clifford, calling him up to the House of Lords, in the Barony of Clifford, under the mistaken impression that the ancient barony of that name was vested in him on her father's decease. On the death of this Earl of Cumberland, the fifth of that name, on December 11, 1643, without male issue, a large portion of the family estates in the North reverted to her under the provisions of her father's will, and the family disputes about property, which had lasted for thirty-eight years, came to an end.

But we must return to the story of the Lady Anne's

married life. Her first husband died on March 28, 1624. She determined not to marry again, as she had shortly after his death a severe attack of small-pox, 'which disease,' she says, 'did so martyr my face that it confirmed more and more my mind never to marry again, though the providence of God caused me after to alter my resolution.' So we find that six years later she was married (June 3, 1630) to Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, at Chenies in Buckinghamshire. But she does not seem to have been more fortunate in retaining the affection of this her second husband than she was with the Earl of Dorset, for, speaking of her married life in her diary, she very quaintly observes 'that in both their lifetimes the marble pillars of Knowle in Kent and Wilton in Wiltshire, were to me oftentimes but the gay arbour of anguish, insomuch that a wise man who knew the inside of my fortune would often say that I lived in both these my lord's great families as the river Roan or Rodanus runs through the Lake Geneva, without mingling any part of its stream with that lake; for I gave myself wholly to retiredness as much as I could in both of these families, and made good books and virtuous thoughts my companions.' Hartley Coleridge, speaking of her married life, says: 'From the self-satisfaction with which she discloses the sources of her trouble, it is evident that, however much her peace might be disquieted, her heart was never bruised. Had she ever loved either of her lords she could not have found her genius so potently happy to sustain their unkindness. She considered marriage as a necessary evil, a penalty of womanhood, and, expecting no felicity,

suffered no disappointment.' There is not sufficient evidence to justify the sweeping assertion here made as to the Lady Anne's views of matrimony. Certainly the ill-conduct and profligacy of her first husband was calculated to make her dissatisfied with her married life, but the fact that six years after she enters into a second matrimonial alliance seems to prove that she had no quarrel with the married state in itself. During the troublous period of the struggle between King Charles and his Parliament she remained in peace at Baynards Castle, waiting patiently for better times. In the diary we read: 'I and my daughter went to lye at Baynard Castle, which was then a house full of riches, and was the more secured by my lying there, where I continued to lye in my own chamber without removing 6 years and 9 months, which was the longest time I ever continued to lye in one house in all my life, the Civill wars being then very hot in England, so that I may well say it was then, as it were, a place of refuge for me to hide myself in "till those troubles were overpassed"' (Isa. xliii. 2).

In the year 1626, when she was staying at Bolbrook House in Sussex, and had just received her rents, an attempt at robbery was made, on May 6.

Her second husband took some part in the political disturbances of the time, and, much to her distress, he joined the Roundheads, in consequence, it is said, of his pique at being deprived of the Lord Chamberlain's staff by King Charles I. He just outlived the abolition of the monarchy, and accepted a seat in the Rump Parliament. He died on January 23, 1650, at his lodging in the Cockpit, near Whitehall, at the age of sixty-five.



The news of his decease was conveyed to his wife, who was then at Appleby Castle. It reached her on the 27th. He was buried at Salisbury on February 9. The Lady Anne thus sums up his character: 'He was of a very quick apprehension, a sharp understanding, very crafty withal, and of a discerning spirit, but extremely choleric by nature, which was increased the more by the office of Lord Chamberlain to the King, which he held many years. He was never out of England but some two months, when he went to France with other lords in the year 1625 to attend Queen Mary at her first coming into England to be married to King Charles her husband. He was one of the greatest noblemen of his time in England in all respects, and was generally throughout the realm very well beloved.'

After the death of her husband the Lady Anne retired to the North, where she had six houses—Skipton Castle, Barden Tower, and Pendragon, Appleby, Brougham, and Brough Castles. These houses were more or less in a state of decay and ruin, and the Countess spent many of the years of her widowhood in building up and restoring the waste places of many generations. She refers to her journey to the North in these words: 'I did go out of London (July 11, 1647) onwards on my journey towards Skipton, so as when I went not far from North Hall (Hertfordshire), where I had formerly lived, and so by easy journeys on the road I came to Skipton the 18th of the month into my Castle there, it being the first time of my coming to it after the pulling down of most of the old Castle, which was done some 6 months before by order of Parliament, because it had been a garrison in the late Civil War.



And I was never till now in any part of the Castle since I was 9 or 10 weeks old.' But she tells us that in 1616 (October 12), when she and her mother were travelling through Craven, and would have gone into the Castle to see it, 'we were not permitted to do so, the doors thereof being shut against us by my uncle of Cumberland's officers in an uncivil and disdainful manner.'

On July 28, 1649, she went over to Barden for the first time and viewed the old decayed tower, which had been the favourite abode of the Shepherd Lord, and she determined to put it once more into good repair. She says in 1650: 'I employed myself in building and reparation at Skipton and at Barden Tower, and in causing the bounds to be ridden and my courts kept in several manors in Craven, and in these kind of country affairs about my estate which I found in extreme disorder, by reason it had been kept so long from me.' Her life seems now to have been a very happy one, for she says: 'I do more and more fall in love with contentments and innocent pleasures of a country life, which humour of mind I do wish, with all my heart, if it be the will of Almighty God, may be conferred on my posterity which are to succeed me in these places, for a wise body ought to make their own home the place of self-fruition, the comfortablest part of their life. But this must be left to a succeeding providence, for none can know what shall come after them; but to invite them to it, that saying in the 16th Psalm, v. 5-8, may be fitly applied.' We seem here to have some allusion to the troubles of her married and Court life, from which she was evidently glad to be free. And well

she might say, 'I have a goodly heritage' as she thought of her six castles and of her fair domains in the most picturesque parts of Craven, and of her lands, extending, almost without a break, from Skipton to Broughton in Westmoreland, a distance of over fifty miles.

In 1651 she speaks of Elizabeth Clifford (her cousin), Countess of Cork, as residing at Bolton, probably at the Hall, and of their exchanging civilities.

Although she had returned to the North, and held no communication with the seat of government, she did not escape the inquisition which was applied in order to discover the religious opinions of persons of quality. When the use of the Book of Common Prayer was prohibited, she still continued to have it said in her chapels, at the risk of the penalties attached to such a use. Bishop Rainbow says: 'She was after this' (examination of her faith) 'so resolute to stick to the order of the Church in the main part of practice, partaking of the Holy Eucharist, that when there was a kind of interdict in the land, a forbidding to administer the Sacrament according to the Common Prayer, she would not, what danger so ever might happen, communicate any other way, sticking close to the rules and form of sound words prescribed by the rubric, to which she had always been accustomed, and had approved it by her own judgment.' In her diary she frequently mentions the progress made in her building operations and repairs at her several houses. In 1655 she writes: 'I caused part of Appleby Church, which was ruinous, to be pulled down and rebuilt at a cost of £600 or £700. This summer also, though I lay at Appleby Castle, yet by my appointment and

at my own charge was the steeple of Skipton Church, in the east and north parts of it, which had been pulled down in the late Civil War, built up again and repaired and leaded all over, and some part of the church itself was also repaired, and a tomb erected and set up in memory of my noble father.'

Thus Skipton owes much to the Lady Anne, and this entry in the diary enables us to fix the date of those portions of the church which are referred to. Then she continues: 'And about the first of October' (1655), 'when I lay now in my house at Skipton, did I begin to make ye rubbish be carried out of ye old Castle at Skipton which had lain in it since it was thrown down and demolished in December, 1648, and ye January following. The said old Castle was very well finished and new built up, tho' I came not then to lie in it by reason of the smell and unwholesomeness of the new walls.' In 1657 we read, '13 rooms finished at Skipton Castle.' And in the same year the tomb which she had caused to be made for herself at Appleby Church was finished. This erection of a burial-place seems not to have been uncommon amongst the wealthier classes in those times, and probably it was the same feeling which caused a dalesman in the eighteenth century (*cf.* Wilson's letter, p. 85) to make his own coffin.

In 1659 she records: 'Great repairs in the walls of Skipton Castle, and Barden Tower, when Gabriel Vincent was Steward, all finished to my good liking and content.' She slept in Barden Tower for the first time in May, 1659. In July, 1660, the Comptons, one of her married daughter's family, came to Barden for the night, and occupied four rooms at the west side of



the great chamber. This lady was very fond of recording her works of rebuilding and reparation in long inscriptions similar to the following, which was placed on Skipton Castle: 'This Skipton Castle was repayed by the Lady Anne Clifford, Countess Dowager of Pembrokee, Dorsett, and Montgomerie, Baronesse Clifford of Westmerland and Veseie, Ladye of the Honour of Skipton in Craven and High Sheriffesse of Westmoreland in the years 1657 and 1658, after this main part of itt had layne ruinous ever since December, 1648, and the January following, when it was then pulled down and demolished almost to the foundation by the command of the Parliament then sitting at Westminster because itt had been a garrison in the Civil warres in England. Is: Ch. 58, v. 12. God's name be praised !' The historian of Craven thinks that the Lady Anne exaggerated the damage which the castle had received in the Civil Wars. By the 'main part' we are to understand the old castle only, as distinct from the gallery. 'After all,' he says, 'may we not be allowed to suspect that the good lady expresses herself too strongly with respect to the total demolition even of this part of the castle in order to magnify her own achievements in restoring it?' And the editor of the third edition of his work says: 'The Countess evidently makes too much of the damage done by the Roundheads, for it is easy to see that only the upper part of the rounders was destroyed, except the southern tower of the entrance and the tower adjoining, which seem to have been nearly demolished; and as the castle was not allowed to be made capable of being fortified again, the walls were pulled down to a level line and then



rebuilt, the masonry being thinner above the line, as is well seen in the southern tower. The old flat roofs were no doubt destroyed, and the Countess replaced them with sloping roofs, which would not admit of cannon being placed upon them. She also diverted the roadway which formerly led to the entrance, and built the new entrance in a civil style of architecture, with a chamber over it, and a bold flight of steps leading up to the gateway.' Probably about this time she planted in the bailey of Skipton Castle an acorn from the oak at Boscobel (which sheltered King Charles II.) as a symbol of the ancient loyalty of her house. It grew into a noble tree.

She next turned her attention to another of her residences, Pendragon Castle, which was situated at Mallerstang, on the borders of Westmoreland. This ancient ruin and former home of the Veteriponts, who were ancestors of the Cliffords, had not been inhabited since the time of Idonea de Veteripont, in whose days it was burnt by the Scots in the fifteenth year of Edward III.

In 1660 the Countess caused it to be repaired, and she often stayed there when on a visit to Westmoreland. 'On October 14th she lay there three nights,' to show her interest in the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants of that district. She bought lands of the value of £11 per annum for £220, as an endowment for a clergyman to minister in the chapel of Mallerstang.

Perhaps the most touching memorial which the Countess has left is the 'pillar' which she caused to be erected in stone in the parish of Brougham, on the road between Penrith and Appleby. The memorial is

intended to commemorate a last parting from her mother, whom she dearly loved. It bears this inscription: 'This pillar was erected in 1656 by the Right Honourable Anne Countess Dowager of Pembroke, the sole heir of the Right Honourable George Earl of Cumberland, for a memorial of her last parting with her good and pious mother, the Right Honourable Margaret Countess Dowager of Cumberland, the 2nd of April, 1616.' In memory whereof she also left 'an annuity of £4 to be distributed to the poor within this Parish of Brougham every 2nd day of April for ever upon the stone hereby. *Laus Deo.*' This rent-charge issues out of an estate in Yanwath in the parish of Barton which is charged with the payment thereof, and is distributed about the 2nd of April by the minister and churchwardens amongst two, three, or four families not receiving weekly relief under the name of 'Pillar' money (*cf.* Whitaker, 3rd ed., p. 386).

The poet Rogers, in the 'Pleasures of Memory,' thus alludes to this pillar:

'Hast thou through Eden's wild wood vales pursued  
Each mountain scene majestically rude;  
Nor there awhile with lifted eye revered  
That modest stone which pious Pembroke reared:  
Which still records beyond the pencil's power  
The silent sorrows of a parting hour;  
Still to the musing pilgrim points the place  
Her sainted spirit most delights to trace.'

The Lady Anne, like Queen Elizabeth, was much addicted to making 'progresses,' but in this case they were not made for the purpose of visiting her neighbours, but that she might take up her abode successively

in her six northern residences. It must have been a very picturesque scene to witness the Countess on these journeys, generally on her 'horse litter,' with some of the chief servants in the large coach and a number of her retainers accompanying her on horseback.

On the journeys from Cumberland to Skipton she frequently stopped the night at Kirby Lonsdale, but once it is recorded that she came by Settle, and then over the moors by Malham Tarn.

*September 25, 1662.*—'Into the inn at Settle, where I lay the night and never lay there before, and the next day, being the 26th, I came over the moor by Mawham water Tarne, where I had not been 9 or 10 years before, and so into my house at Barden Tower.'

But when she wished to reach Pendragon or Brough Castle the journey was made through Upper Wharfedale, and then across the upper part of Wensleydale. Thus the Countess relates in her diary, October 6, 1663:

'After I had lain in Skipton Castle in ye chamber there wherein I was born, just 5 months from my coming from Barden Tower did I remove from thence onwards on my journey toward Westmoreland, so as I went to Mr. Cuthbert Wade's house at Kilnsey, and lay there ye night, and so ye next day from them through Kettlewell Dale, up Buckden Rakes, and over ye stake into Wensleydale to my cosen Mr. Thos. Metcalf's house at Nappa, where I lay also ye night, and on to Pendragon. And this was the first time I was ever in Kettlewell Dale or went over Buckden Rakes or the Stake or Cotter, or any of those dangerous places wherein yet God was pleased to preserve me on this journey.'



The Wade family mentioned here lived at Kilnsey Hall (which is now in ruins) in the seventeenth century. One of the family, Sir W. Wade, Knight, was Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and other members of the family gave the Communion-plate (which is still in use) to Arncliffe Church. Their interest in Littondale came through the marriage of a Wade with a Litton of Litton Hall.

In 1667 (July 29) we read of another journey along these 'dangerous places.' This time the Countess stayed at the little village of Starbotton, which lies between Kettlewell and Buckden. 'I went into one John Symondson's house at Starbotton in Craven, where I lay one night, and then on to Pendragon.' We can gather from the diary what a deep impression the Great Plague of London made throughout the country. 'In the year 1665 and the beginning of the following year there was a great plague in the city and suburbs of London, whereof there died for several weeks together 8,000 a week, the like whereof was never known before.' And of the Fire which followed she writes: 'The fire of London burnt Dorset House, Baynard Castle, but Thanet House was preserved. 80 churches were burnt and St. Paul's.'

August 6, 1666, another journey is recorded. 'I went to the Chappel of Mallerstang by the way for awhile, it being the first time I was ever in the Chappel, and so over Cotter and those dangerous ways into one Mr. Coleby's house near Bainbridge in Wensleydale, where I lay the night with my women servants and three of my men servants and my other servants lying at Askrigg and Bainbridge, and on to Kilnsey on the



7th.' This habit of removing from place to place was maintained to the very last days of her life, and even in extreme old age. Bishop Rainbow gives a description of one of the last 'progresses' that the Countess made, showing her strong will and strenuous resolution, and also the reason why she loved these journeys. He says: 'In her frequent removals, both going and coming, she strewed her bounty all the way. And for this end it was (as may be charitably conjectured) that she so often removed; and that not only in the winter season, less fit for travellers, but also that she chose to pass those uncouth and untrodden, those mountainous and almost impassable ways, that she might make the poor people her pioneers, let the season be ever so bad, the places never so barren. When about three years since she had appointed to remove from Appleby to Brougham Castle (in January), the day being very cold, a frost and misty, yet much company coming, as they usually did, to attend her removals, she would needs hold her resolution, and in her passage out of her house she diverted into the Chappel (as at such times she commonly did) and there at, or near a window, sent up her private prayers and ejaculations, when immediately she fell into a swoon, and could not be recovered till she had been for some time laid upon a bed near a great fire. The gentlemen and neighbours who came to attend her used much persuasion that she would return to her chamber and not travel on so sharp and cold a day; but she having before fixed on this day, and so much company being come purposely to wait on her, she would go. And although as soon as she came to her horse litter she swooned again and was carried into a chamber as

before, yet as soon as that fit was over she went, and was no sooner come to her journey's end (9 miles) but a swoon seized her again; from which being soon recovered, when some of her servants and others represent to her with repining her undertaking such a journey foretold by divers to be so extremely hazardous to her life, she replied, she knew she must die, and it was the same thing to her to die in the way as in the house, in her litter as in her bed, declaring a no less courage than the great Roman General, "*Necesse est ut eam, non ut vivam.*"'

Thus she spent the long years of her life, living amongst her dependents and neighbours, and dispensing her bounties on every hand, and revered for her piety and love by all the countryside. The Countess retained her bodily vigour and her quick understanding to the last. Her death, which took place on Wednesday, March 22, 1676, is thus described: 'On Sunday ye 9th of March it pleased Almighty God to visit her with sickness which wrought so sharply upon her all day Monday and Tuesday she was forced to keep her bed, and on Wednesday the 22nd of the month, about 6 o'clock in the afternoon, after she had endured all her pains with the most Christian fortitude, always answering those who asked her how she did with "I thank God I am very well," which were her last words to mortals, she with much cheerfulness in her own chamber at Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, wherein her noble father was born and her blessed mother died, did yield up her precious soul into the hands of her merciful Redeemer. Her body, wrapped in seare-cloth and lead, was buried the 14th of April, 1676, being

drawn by six horses, at mid-day reached the vault prepared by herself at Appleby Church.'

Her funeral sermon was preached by Bishop Rainbow of Carlisle, who took for his text Prov. xiv. 1: 'Every wise woman buildeth her house'—a very appropriate text for a lady who had built or repaired six castles, seven churches, and two alms-houses.

And now something must be said about the domestic life and great piety of this remarkable woman.

She was not only anxious that her own life should be modelled upon the Christian pattern, but she was also careful that the lives of those around her should be formed upon the same pattern. She kept no domestic chaplain, but when she was in residence at each of her six houses the parochial clergyman officiated in her household. In her own chamber the Countess prayed three times a day. She read the Psalms daily as they are appointed to be read for each day in the month in the Book of Common Prayer, and it was a common practice for her to read through one of the gospels every week. A favourite chapter (Rom. viii.) was repeated every Sunday, and this she repeated on her death-bed. She was also very kind to the poor, and especially to those who occupied her alms-houses at Beamsley\* and Appleby. And so Bishop Rainbow says: 'Although she was Countess of three counties, you might have sometimes seen her sitting in the alms-house among her twelve sisters, as she called them, and as if they had been sisters indeed or her own children. She would

\* This alms-house, which was originally founded by her mother, Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, was 'more perfectly finished' and re-endowed by an estate at Harewood by the Lady Anne.



sometimes eat her dinner with them at this alms-house ; but you might find them often dining with her at her table, some of them every week, all of them once a month, and after meat as freely and familiarly conversing with them in her chamber as if they had been her greatest guests. For the edification of her servants she adopted this method, and that they might be better instructed as communicants of the Church,' says the Bishop, ' spiritual meat (John vi.), this Lady took care that it might be provided for all her household in due season—those three seasons in the year when the Church requires it ; and once more in the year at least, besides those three great Festivals, she made one Festival more, for all that were fit to be invited or compelled (as in the Gospel) to come to the supper. And that they might be fitted and well prepared, she took care that several books of devotion and piety might be provided four times in the year, that everyone might take their choice of such books as they had not before, by which means those that had lived in her house long (and she seldom turned any away) might be furnished with books of religion and devotion in every kind.' And again he says : ' She would frequently bring out of the rich storehouse of her memory " things new and old " —sentences or sayings of remark which she had read or learnt out of authors, and with them her walls, her bed, her hangings and furniture must be adorned, causing her servants to write them out in papers, and her maids to pin them up, that she or they in their dressing, or as occasion served, might remember and make their descants on them. So that although she had not many books in her chamber, yet it was dressed up with the flowers



of a library.' What a quaint but pleasant picture have we here of seventeenth-century piety, which might well supply some hints to those placed in a similar position in this twentieth century !

The Lady Anne's vigorous understanding and extensive knowledge were no less remarkable than her piety. Although she was generous to her friends and dependents, she was frugal in her personal expenses, dressing after her second widowhood in black serge, living abstemiously, and pleasantly boasting that she had never tasted wine or physic ('Dictionary of National Biography'). She was possessed of a very strong will, and was very tenacious of her rights, as the following letter, written on behalf of her alms-house at Beamsley, shows :

'GOOD JOHN BROGDEN,

'I have received yo'r letter, and in itt one from L. C. to the mother and sister of Beamsley desyringe their forbearance of ye rent due to them for some season, w'ch moc'on of his I doe utterlye dislike, and will by no means give my assent to ; for if I or thee should hearken to such mo'cons they should soon be in a very sad condic'on. Therefore I charge you, and give you attorety under my hand forthewithe, to distraine for the sayad rentte ; and iff itt bee nott theruppon payed I will usse the strictest course I can to turne him out of the farme. And I pray you show him these lines of mine, to witness this my purpose and intention. And so committing you to the Almighty,

'I rest your assured friend,

'ANNE PEMBROKE.'

There is a better-known letter, supposed to have been written by the Countess to Sir Joseph Williamson (Secretary of State to King Charles II.) when that gentleman had expressed a wish that he might be allowed to nominate a candidate for her pocket-borough of Appleby, to whom she replied :

‘I have been bullied by an usurper, I have been neglected by a Court, but I will not be dictated to by a subject. Your man shan’t stand.

‘ANNE PEMBROKE.’

But the author of the memoir of the Countess in the ‘Dictionary of National Biography’ has shown, on what seem to be sufficient grounds, that there are good reasons for doubting the genuineness of this epistle.

Deeply attached to the Church, which she lived to see overthrown, and then restored to its position again, she is said to have assisted with her alms many of the ejected clergy during the period of the Commonwealth. For personal religion she must be ranked with those eminent ladies of the seventeenth century, Lady Pakington, Lady Russell, Lady Warrender, and Mrs. Godolphin, who in an age not noted for strictness in morality and religion, shone conspicuous for their eminent piety, and were all loyal and steadfast members of the Church. If she had belonged to another branch of the Church, says her panegyrist, she would have been canonized for another St. Anne. And he compares her religious life, and her oversight of her dependents, and alms-women, to that of an abbess in a religious house. But she was no narrow recluse. ‘She had a clear soul shining through a vivid body.’ Her body was durable

and healthful, her soul sprightly of great understanding and judgment, a faithful memory, a ready wit. She had early gained a knowledge as of the best things, so an ability to discourse on all commendable arts and sciences as well as in those things which belong to persons of her birth and sex to know. She could converse with virtuosos, travellers, scholars, merchants, divines, statesmen, and with good housewives in every kind, insomuch that a pious and elegant wit, well seen in all human learning (Dr. Donne), is reported to have said that 'she knew well to discourse of all things, from predestination to slea silk. If she had sought fame rather than wisdom, possibly she might have ranked amongst those wits and learned of that sex of whom Pythagoras in Plutarch, or any of the ancients, have made honourable mention; but she affected to study rather with those noble Bereans who searched the Scriptures, and, with Mary, she chose the better part of learning the doctrines of Christ.'

The learned historian of Craven thus portrays her character: 'She was one of the most illustrious women of this or any age. By the blessing of a religious education and the example of an excellent mother, she imbibed in childhood those principles which in middle life preserved her untainted from the profligacies of one husband, and the fanaticism of another, and after her deliverance from both conducted her to the close of a long life in the uniform exercise of every virtue which became her sex, her rank, and her Christian profession. She had all the courage and liberality of the other sex, united with all the devotion, order, and economy (perhaps not all the softness) of her own. She was the

oldest and most independent Countess in the kingdom ; had known and admired Queen Elizabeth ; had refused what she deemed an iniquitous award of King James ; rebuilt her dismantled castles in defiance of Cromwell, and repelled with disdain the interposition of a profligate Minister under Charles II.' (this probably refers to the celebrated letter to Sir Joseph Williamson).

I cannot better conclude this memoir than by quoting again the words of her worthy diocesan in the funeral sermon :

‘ And while her dust lies silent in that chamber of death, the monuments which she had built in the hearts of all that knew her shall speak aloud in the ears of a profligate generation, and tell that in this general corruption, lapsed times decay, and downfall of virtue, the thrice illustrious Anne, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomerie stood immovable in her integrity of manners, virtue, and religion. Virtues were conspicuous in her manner of life : as to herself, in great humility, modesty, Temperance, and sobriety of mind ; as to the world, in Justice, Courtesie, and beneficence ; and to God, in acts of Piety, Devotion, and religion.’







OLIVER CROMWELL AND GENERAL LAMBERT.

## JOHN LAMBERT

‘In these distracted times, when each man dreads  
The bloody stratagems of busy heads.’

OTWAY.

THE great religious, social, and political struggle which devastated England in the middle of the seventeenth century may be viewed from at least two aspects. To some it seems to bring about the rescuing of England from an odious tyranny, and the securing of a freedom which has never since been lost; to others it appears to issue in the loss of a great principle of authority in matters of Church and State which has been a source of weakness and a cause of division which makes itself felt even at this present hour. However, from whatever point of view we may approach the subject, some account of the life of one who played an important part in the stirring scenes of those times must always be a matter of interest to Craven people.

John Lambert, whose name in the middle of the seventeenth century was a household word, and whose authority and influence were second only to that of his great friend Oliver Cromwell, was born at Calton, in the parish of Kirkby Malham, on September 7, 1619. He was baptized on November 7 of the same year. His father, who died when he was thirteen years of age,

belonged to an ancient family whose ancestors had held lands in the same neighbourhood for several centuries. In the early part of the sixteenth century estates of this branch of the Lambert family were of small extent, but at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries a John Lambert, great-grandfather of the General, increased his estates considerably, says Dr. Whitaker, by making advantageous purchases from the Commissioners. He died possessed of the Manor of Calton and six carucates of land—four in Skipton and two of the heirs of Cantilupe. The rental of his paternal estate was no more than £10 2s. 4d.; the whole of which he died possessed in or about 1569 was £125 6s. 2d. The Doctor adds: ‘The man who, in an age when there was no commerce, augmented his property in a twelvefold proportion cannot have been wanting in diligence, dexterity, or good fortune.’ He was Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Steward of the Court of the Prior of Bolton. The family were apparently of Norman descent, and could boast of a very distinguished ancestry. A memorial tablet in Kirkby Malham Church, erected to the memory of General Lambert’s son, who died on March 14, 1701, says that he was ‘the heir male, in whom that ancient family of ye Lamberts, in a line from William the Conqueror (and related to him by marriage), is now extinct.’ The relationship here alluded to was brought about by the following alliances: Radulphus de Lambert, son of Regnier (or Ragerinus), fourth son of Lambert I., Count of Mons and Louvaine, accompanied the Conqueror to England, and left a son, Hugo Fitz Rudulph de Lambert, who, in conjunction with his wife Matilda, daughter of Peter



de Ros, was a benefactor of Croyland Abbey. He left a son William, who married Gundrada,\* daughter of William de Warrenne and widow of Roger de Bello-monte, Earl of Warwick, and was succeeded by his son, Henry de Lambert, who was standard-bearer to Henry II., and who married Alice, daughter of Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex. His son John had a confirmation of his mother's jointure from his uncle, William de Mandeville, and died leaving two sons—Sir Edmund de Lambert, of Skipton in Craven, and Thomas, Sheriff of London—in 1221. Sir Edmund left three sons. John, the eldest, was the ancestor of the Lamberts of Owlton Hall, co. Durham, and of the Lamberts of Yorkshire and of the Earls of Cavan.†

\* Gundrada, the mother of Gundrada, daughter of William de Warrenne, is said to have been the youngest daughter of William I. and Queen Matilda, but there is some doubt about her paternity. Burke quotes Ordericus Vitalis, who says that she was the sister of Gherbod the Fleming, Earl of Chester; but Brook, who quotes the Charter of Lewes Priory, describes her as the daughter of Queen Matilda, and in another place as the daughter of the Conqueror.

† The two other sons were Edmund Lambert and Richard, who had estates in Lincolnshire and Norfolk, and was father to Sir Henry Fitz Lambert, and John (who was a citizen of London, and had an estate in Surrey and Norfolk, and in 21st of Edward I., in conjunction with John Fitz Geoffrey and others, granted lands there to the Prior and Convent of Our Lady of Great Massingham). This John de Lambert was the founder of the Surrey branch of the family, now settled at Woodmansterne. I am indebted to Colonel Lambert, F.S.A., for this information; but *cf.* *The Ancestor*, No. 3 (October, 1902), where in an article, 'The Tale of a Forgery,' Mr. J. H. Round throws doubts upon the genuineness of that part of the pedigree which is anterior to the fifteenth century.

Accordingly the Lamberts of Calton may have been of noble descent.

John Lambert, the subject of this memoir, married Francis Lister, daughter of Sir W. Lister, of Thornton, Knight. This lady, who was most elegant and accomplished, seems to have shared the political views of her husband. In religion she became an Independent. There is extant a curious conversation which she held with an Ensign Ewhurst on the subject of 'free love' as it was understood by some among the Anabaptists. To the lady's credit it must be said that she indignantly repudiated the suggestions made to her by this officer, and ordered him to quit her presence. A copy of the paper is in the possession of the present Lord Ribblesdale. It is entitled 'Copy of a Curious Original MS., formerly in the Possession of Lyttleton, Bishop of Carlisle, and now at Boconnoc, in the library there, September 15, 1813.' It is scarcely fit for publication here, but historically it is of importance, as showing that these tenets were held unblushingly by some in the Parliamentary army in the seventeenth century.

Of John Lambert's early life there are no records. We are unable to say at what school he received his education. All that we know of his early years is contained in a sentence from Whitelock's 'Memorials,' who says 'he studied at the Inns of Court, and was of a subtle and working brain.' It is probable that after his course of study was over in London he retired to Calton, and lived the quiet life of a country gentleman until the quarrel between the King and the Parliament broke out in 1641.

If we ask what induced this country gentleman, who

was well born and well bred, of a competent fortune, an excellent understanding, and even an elegant taste, to take up arms against his King, Dr. Whitaker is able to supply us with what may be regarded as a sufficient explanation. He says, 'causes, often apparently inconsiderable, are often productive of important consequences; and when I turn to the archives of the Assheton family at Whalley and read their reiterated complaints against Archbishop Laud for breaking, or endeavouring to break, the lease of their valuable rectory, and trace the effects of their irritation in a long course of subsequent disloyalty, I am no longer at a loss to account for the wrong bias early communicated to an ardent mind like that of Lambert, who at the age of twenty had intermarried with the kindred family of the Listers, and been admitted in consequence to the intimacy of the Asshetons' (Whitaker, 3rd ed., pp. 259, 260).

At the outbreak of the Civil War he held a command under General Fairfax, and directed the siege of Skipton Castle. In 1643 he is mentioned as a Colonel, and he behaved himself very bravely in the sally from Hull on October 2 in that year. He is praised by Sir Thomas Fairfax for his services with the Parliamentary horse at the Battle of Nantwich, on January 25, 1644. In March of that year Lambert and his regiment were quartered at Bradford ('Dictionary of National Biography,' art. 'Lambert'). On March 5 he beat up the Royalist quarters and took 200 prisoners. A few days later he repulsed the attempt of Colonel Bellasis, who was the King's Governor at York, and recaptured Bradford. At the Battle of Marston Moor Lambert's regiment



formed part of the cavalry of the right wing, which was routed by Goring; but Lambert himself, who had his horse killed under him, with Sir Thomas Fairfax and five or six troops, cut their way through the enemy and joined the victorious left wing under Cromwell. When Parliament sent for Fairfax to command the new model army, Lambert the Commissary-General of Fairfax's army, was ordered to take charge of the forces in the North during his absence; but this was only temporary, as Colonel Poyntz was ultimately made commander of the northern army. In March, 1645, when Langdale raised the siege of Pontefract, Lambert was wounded in attempting to cover the siege. In the next year he succeeded to the command in the new model of a regiment which had been under Colonel Montague. During this period of the war he was also employed in many other engagements. And in April, 1647, when the King's cause was on the decline, Lambert became much better known as a rising man devoted to the cause of the Parliament. He had shown great courage and skill as a commander, and his ability as a politician was not contemptible. Accordingly in June, General Ireton, Colonels Lambert, Rich, Desborough, and Sir Hardress Waller were appointed as Commissioners on the part of the army to prepare heads of a proposal for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom, but all negotiations failed.

In August, 1647, he was appointed Major-General of the five northern counties, and although he possessed unlimited powers of jurisdiction, he is said to have used that power 'with great wisdom, moderation, and justice.' In the summer of 1648 there were risings



in the North under Sir Marmaduke Langdale in favour of the King, but the military genius of Lambert prevented the Royalists from advancing the King's cause. A contemporary record says: 'Major-General Lambert is not very well, but you know he hath been long sickly, but is in the field and victorious; he hath taken Brougham Castle, Penrith, and settled Appleby, and other places hereabouts. Sir Marmaduke Langdale is fled towards Carlisle, but not without some losse, for a party of horse marched up towards his reare and fell into the quarters of a Regeament newly levyed, which we have totally dispersed and broken; the officers fled after Langdale, and the soldiers threw down—most of them—their arms and ran home, seeming to be very glad of the opportunity.' This took place in June. In the middle of July the Marquis of Hamilton advances with a large force into England, and Lambert falls back, skirmishing, wherever a strong defensive position was to be found. Leaving a garrison in Appleby Castle, he quartered his men in Bowes and Barnard Castle, where he hoped to be able to hold the Stainmore Pass until reinforcements arrived from Yorkshire. In the meanwhile Hamilton advanced from Westmoreland into Lancashire. And as Lambert feared lest the enemy should march into Yorkshire through Wensleydale and turn his position, he retreated to Richmond. Here he received information which convinced him that Hamilton would try to march southwards through Ribblesdale and the Valley of the Aire. Consequently Lambert kept in touch with the enemy by bringing his troops to Knaresborough and Leeds. On August 8 there was much rain, which is not uncommon in Craven

at this period of the year. The Scottish General advanced by Kendal to Settle. The next day his army turned westward, and was at Hornby. On the 13th he received a letter from Langdale, who had ridden over from Settle to tell him of the gathering of the Parliamentary forces in Yorkshire. By this time Cromwell had joined his forces with those of Lambert, and both advanced by quick marches through Wharfedale and Airedale into Ribblesdale, with the purpose of pursuing Hamilton and making him fight. On August 15 the Generals passed the night at Gisburn, at the Lower Hall, which was then a jointure house of the Listers; Sir John Assheton, who had married the widow of Thomas Lister, of Westby, lived there at that time. Lambert's intimate knowledge of the surrounding country, which lay close to his home at Calton, would be of much service to the Parliamentary army. Cromwell thus alludes to the march: 'Hearing that the enemy was advanced with their army into Lancashire, we marched the next day, being the 13th instant of this August, to Otley (having cast off our train, and sent it to Knaresbro' because of the difficulty of marching therewith through Craven, and to the end that we might with more expedition attend the enemy's motion). And on the 14th to Skipton, the 15th to Gisburn, and the 16th to Hodder Bridge, where was held a Council of War.' The question was whether the army should keep to the south bank or to the north bank of the Ribble. A decision was given in favour of the north bank. This soon brought the army into contact with the Scots, who were advancing on Preston. A three-days' battle ensued, in which Hamilton showed very

poor generalship, and Cromwell and Lambert gained an easy victory. The latter General was despatched in pursuit of Hamilton, who surrendered at Uttoxeter on August 25. In the autumn of the same year Cromwell sent the Craven General to Edinburgh, in advance of the rest of the army, with seven regiments of horse to support the Argyll party in establishing a government, and he left him there with a couple of regiments to protect them against the Hamiltonians. At the end of November Lambert returned to Yorkshire to besiege Pontefract, which surrendered on March 22, 1649. By the influence of Fairfax, Parliament rewarded Lambert's services with a grant of land worth £300 per annum from the demesnes of Pontefract ('Dictionary of National Biography'). The subject of this memoir took no part in the King's trial, and it has been doubted by some whether he was favourable to his death.

But his subsequent conduct tends to show that he regarded the abolition of the monarchy as a necessary step towards the advancement of the policy he was pursuing. In 1650 the affairs of Scotland engaged the attention of Cromwell. He took with him Lambert as his Major-General and as second in command. In the fight at Musselburgh on July 29 the Major-General was twice wounded and taken prisoner, but he was immediately rescued. At the Battle of Dunbar he greatly distinguished himself. The obstinate persistence of the Scottish General Leslie in remaining on an advantageous position had greatly troubled Cromwell and his officers; but at the Council of War held shortly before the battle, when all were downhearted and doubtful as to the expediency of attacking the Scots, Lambert



encouraged them and predicted a victory. Accordingly, to Lambert was given the command of the attacking force. The morning of September 3 was a wet one; but the Craven General brought up the guns, and ordered three regiments of infantry protected by cavalry to sweep round upon the enemy's flank. The rush of Lambert's cavalry opened the battle; the Scots, attacked on the front and in the flank, after making some resistance, turned and fled towards Haddington. As Cromwell saw what was taking place, he uttered those well-known words of the 63rd Psalm: 'Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered.' The victory was complete. The Scottish foot surrendered at Dunbar. In this battle 3,000 perished—Whitelock says 4,000; 10,000 men were taken prisoners, with the whole of General Leslie's baggage and artillery. It is said that only twenty of the English were slain—Whitelock says not forty.

In July, 1651, General Lambert fell upon the Scots on the hillside to the north of Inverkeithing, and, in spite of the disadvantages of the ground, put them to flight. About half of the Scottish force (2,000 men) was killed outright, and more than 1,500 were taken prisoners, and amongst them was their commander, Sir J. Browne. Whitelock, speaking of this battle, says: 'Such was the gallantry of Major-General Lambert that had it not been for his armour he had been lost, a brace of bullets being found between his coat and his arms.'

When King Charles II. invaded England with a Scottish army before the Battle of Worcester, Lambert and Harrison, with 3,000 horse, were directed to hang



on the rear of the hostile army and molest them as much as possible. On August 11, 1651, Lambert was at Settle, near to his own home, with five regiments of horse. At Warrington Bridge the Parliamentary leaders fell back and allowed the Scots to pass. Cromwell effected a juncture with Lambert at Warwick on August 24.

Before the Battle of Worcester the tactics of the Craven General contributed much to the success of the victors. A division under him was sent off along the banks of the Severn as far as Upton, with the intention of crossing the river and hemming in the invaders on the south and west. This they successfully accomplished. Whitelock says ('Memorials,' folio ed., p. 505) 'that he marched on the 28th of August, in the morning, with a party of horse and dragoons for Evesham towards Upton; about 10 in the morning he approached to the bridge over the Severn, which the enemy had broken down all but a foot-plank. The Dragoons got up upon the bridge before the Enemy in the town (who were 200 or 300 horse and Dragoons) took the alarm, while they fired upon the bridge against the enemy in the town (being within their sight and shot). Our horse partly forded and partly swam over the river about pistol-shot from the bridge, and the Dragoons advanced withal, and forthwith by the Major-General's orders took possession of the Church upon a little hill near the foot-bridge, being about 18.' Then follows an account of an engagement. At Lambert's request Lieutenant-General Fleetwood came to his assistance. The Major-General himself wrought in the making of the bridge after it had been captured. He also took

part in the assault on the city of Worcester, and on the day of the battle, he had his horse shot under him.

On September 9 the House of Commons resolved: 'That lands of inheritance in Scotland, to the yearly value of 1,000 pounds sterling, be settled upon Major-General Lambert and his heirs for ever, for his great and eminent services to the Commonwealth.' Shortly after the Battle of Worcester he was sent to Scotland by the Parliament as a Commissioner to assist in settling the affairs of that country. Up to this time all had gone well with his fortunes. He had joined the victorious party, he had proved himself an able General and administrator, he stood very high in the esteem of the army, which was at this time all powerful, and now there came an unpleasant incident in his political life. Parliament made him Lord Deputy of Ireland, but shortly afterwards passed a resolution that the appointment should only be for six months, and that then the office should be placed in commission, and that of Commander-in-Chief also.

Lambert would not accept the diminished authority. He resigned the honour which had been conferred upon him. Cromwell's sincerity in appearing to favour Lambert's appointment as Lord Deputy has been questioned. Fleetwood, who had married a relative of Cromwell, was sent to Ireland. Lambert was consequently very angry with Parliament, and joined with Cromwell in trying to bring about a dissolution. He was with his distinguished colleague at that memorable scene when he bade the members begone, and locked the door as they departed. In the 'Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson,' written with an evident bias against the

General, this period of his life is thus alluded to: ‘After the death of Ireton, Lambert was voted Deputy of Ireland and Commander-in-Chief there, who being at that time in the North was exceedingly elevated with the honour, and courted all Fairfax’s old commanders and other gentlemen, who upon his promise of preferment quitted their places, and many of them came to London, and made him there a very proud train, which still more exalted him, so that he soon put on the prince, immediately laying out £5,000 for his own particular equipage, and looking upon all the Parliament men who had conferred this honour upon him as underlings, and scarcely worth a great man’s nod. This untimely declaration of his pride gave great offence to the Parliament, who, having only given him a commission for six months for his deputyship, made a vote that, after the expiration of that time, the presidency of the civil and military powers of that nation should no more be in his or any one man’s hands again. This vote was upon Cromwell’s procurement, who hereby designed to make way for his new son-in-law, Colonel Fleetwood, who had married the widow of the late Deputy Ireton. There went a story that as my Lady Ireton was walking in St. James’s Park, the Lady Lambert, as proud as her husband, came by where she was, and as the present prince hath always presidency of the relict of the dead prince, so she put my Lady Ireton below, who, notwithstanding her piety and humility, was a little grieved at the affront. Colonel Fleetwood being then present in mourning for his wife, who died at the same time as her lord died, took occasion to introduce himself, and was immediately accepted by the lady and her father, who



designed thus to restore his daughter to the honour she had fallen from. Cromwell's plot took as well as he himself could wish ; for Lambert, who saw himself thus cut off from half his exaltation, sent the House an insolent message, that if they found him so unworthy of the honour they had given him as so soon to repent it, he would not retard their remedy for six months, but was ready to surrender their commission before he entered into his office. They took him at his word, and made Fleetwood Deputy and Ludlow Commander of Horse, whereupon Lambert, with a heart full of spite, malice, and revenge, retreated to his palace at Wimbledon, and sat there waiting an opportunity to destroy the Parliament. Cromwell, who had done this, flattered Lambert and helped to inflame him against the Parliament. Lambert dissembled, and at last Lambert, Harrison, and Cromwell turned the Parliament out.' After the expulsion of Parliament the subject of this memoir took a leading part in the council of officers and in drawing up the 'Instrument of Government' which was to form a basis for a new Administration. Ludlow says: 'After a few days a council of field-officers was summoned, when Major-General Lambert, having rehearsed the several steps and degrees by which things had been brought to the present state wherein they were, and pressed the necessity incumbent upon the army to provide something in the room of what was entirely taken away, presented to them a paper entitled "Instrument of Government," which he read in his place. Some of the officers, being convinced that the contents of the "Instrument" tended to the sacrificing all our labours to the lust and ambition of a single person, began to declare their unwillingness



to concur in it. But they were interrupted by the Major-General, and informed that it was not to be disputed whether this should be the form of government or not, for that was already resolved, it having been under consideration for two months past, neither was it brought before them with any other intention than to give them permission to offer any amendments they might think fit, with a promise that they should be taken into consideration. At the next meeting of officers it was not thought fit to consult them at all, but they were openly told by Major-General Lambert that the General would take care of managing the Civil Government; and then, having required them to repair to their respective charges where their troops and companions lay, that they might preserve the public peace, he dismissed them.' This extract gives us some idea of the arbitrary way in which those who had fought against what they regarded as a tyranny now imposed their wills upon the nation. He now strongly supported Cromwell as President of the Council appointed by the army, and he offered him the protectorship. The part he took in the ceremonies at the installation of the Protector is thus referred to by Ludlow: 'At Westminster Hall on December 16, 1653, the Commissioners of the Seal, the Judges, the Barons of Exchequer marched first, the Council of the Commonwealth following them, and then the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London in robes. After them came the General with a great number of the officers of the army, Major-General Lambert carrying the sword before him into the Court of Chancery, where after the General had heard the "Instrument of Government" read, and taken

the oath as directed in the said "Instrument," Major-General Lambert, kneeling, presented him with a sword in the scabbard, representing the civil sword ; which Cromwell accepting, put off his own, intimating thereby that he would no longer rule by the military sword, tho' like a false hypocrite he designed nothing more.'

He also began to talk of making the protectorship hereditary. It is thought that his reason for so speaking was to hide his own ambition. There was every probability that he might some day succeed to the Protector's position, if he could get rid of one or two rivals. 'His interest,' says a news-letter in April, 1653, 'is more universal than Harrison's, both in the army and country; he is a gentleman born, learned, well qualified of courage and conduct, good nature and character.' 'This which Lambert aimed at he hath effected,' says a letter in December following. 'The General will be Governor and stay here; he will get the command of the army, it cannot be avoided; Harrison is out of doors, having joined with the Anabaptists.' When Major-Generals were appointed, to his care was committed the oversight of the five northern counties (Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland), but he acted through Colonel C. Howard, and Robert Lilburne. On questions of State policy his views almost coincided with those of the Protector. He advocated the war with Spain, and he was anxious to keep the Sound from falling into the hands of the Dutch, and Danes, or any single Power. He was in favour of liberty of conscience, as it was then understood. Like Cromwell, he believed in the necessity of limiting the power of Parliament by constitutional

restrictions. In dealing with republicans who refused to own the legitimacy of Cromwell's Government, no one of the Protector's Council was less conciliating.

To outsiders he seemed to be equal to the Protector. He was the army's 'darling.' As fast as recalcitrant officers were cashiered, he filled their places with his supporters ('Dictionary of National Biography'). 'It lies in his power,' wrote a contemporary (Carte, *Original Letters*, ii. 89), 'to raise Oliver higher or else to get up in his place. One of the Council's opinion being asked what he thought Lambert did intend, his answer was that Lambert would let this man continue Protector, but that he could rule him as he pleased.' In the year 1657 an event occurred which for the time put an end to Lambert's political life. There was a resolution brought into the House for a revision of the Constitution under the name of 'The Humble Petition and Advice,' and one feature of the document was a proposal that the Protector should receive the title of King with power to nominate his successor. This proposal was opposed by Lambert, although four years before he had been in favour of royal honours for Cromwell. But, much to the Protector's disappointment, the revival of the royal title was not acceptable to the army, and after some negotiations with Parliament Cromwell refused the proffered honour.

What caused this change of front in Lambert is a matter of conjecture. It has been said by Gardiner ('Cromwell,' p. 278) that 'possibly he regarded a kingship by the grace of Parliament less of a boon than a kingship by the grace of the army. Still more probably was he moved by a personal grievance in



seeing Fleetwood, who had now returned from Ireland, higher than himself in the favour of the Protector, perhaps even in the favour of the army. In any case, he carried on the campaign with consummate skill, keeping aloof from the constitutional question, and throwing all his strength into the argument which the rudest soldier could understand—that the army had not rejected one King in order to set up another.’ From this moment, to say the least, a coolness sprang up between the Protector and his powerful lieutenant, and an incident occurred which widened the breach. By ‘The Humble Petition and Advice’ it was provided that an oath should be taken by those of the Assembly and Council not to do anything against the present Government, and to be true and faithful to the Protector according to the law of the land. This oath Lambert refused to take, whereupon Cromwell sent for him, and told him that if he was dissatisfied with the present posture of affairs, he desired him to surrender his commission and his offices. He took the hint, and after a few days resigned all the appointments which he held under the Government. He was at that time a member of the Council, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, a Major-General in the army, Colonel of a cavalry and also of a foot regiment, and he held other offices about the Court with emoluments amounting in the aggregate to £6,500 per annum. After his resignation, he retired to his house at Wimbledon, which he had purchased when the Queen’s lands were sold. Here he amused himself with his favourite occupation of gardening (*cf.* letter to Lord Hatton in Appendix), and Cromwell, it is said, fearing to make



too much of an enemy of a man having so much interest amongst the soldiers, settled £2,000 per annum upon him. But Lambert did not live long in retirement. The death of Cromwell, on September 3, 1658, called him forth again to a life of political and military activity. About six months before he died Cromwell was anxious for a reconciliation with Lambert, and sent for him to Whitehall. 'When he came the Protector fell on his neck and kissed him, and inquired of "Dear Johnny" for his Jewel (wife) and for all his children by name. On the following day Lady Lambert visited Cromwell's wife, who fell immediately into a kind of quarrel for her long absence, disclaimed policy or statecraft, but professed a motherly kindness to her and hers which no change should ever alter' (*cf.* 'Dictionary of National Biography').

When Richard Cromwell succeeded his father in the government of the Commonwealth, a Parliament was elected on January 7, 1659. In this assembly Lambert represented Pontefract, and he was again appointed a member of most of the public committees. He was as active and resolute as ever in defence of the Constitution which he had taken so much trouble to establish. The Royalist party, who now saw the direction in which political affairs were tending, were anxious to secure the co-operation of Lambert. 'I wish Lambert were dead,' writes one of their agents the day after Cromwell's death, 'for I find the army much devoted to him; but I cannot perceive that he is in any way to be reconciled to the King. So that it is no small danger that his reputation with the army may thrust Dick Cromwell out of the saddle, and yet not help the King into it.'

He was also courted by the supporters of the new Protector, and to a certain extent he gave them his countenance. When the Bill for the establishment of the new Protector's authority was brought in, Lambert uttered these significant words: 'We are all for this honourable person who is now in power.' At the same time he counselled the House to limit the Protector's authority over the army and his veto in legislation. 'The best man,' he said, 'is but a man after all, and I have cause to know it; therefore, whatever engagement they entered into with the Protector, let the people's liberties be on the back of the bond.'

In this same year, as is well known, Richard Cromwell, feeling the difficulties of government too great for his quiet disposition, dissolved his Council and Parliament, and soon after resigned the Protectorship. The government of the country fell for the time into the hands of the army, and Lambert once more received a military command. He was made Colonel of two regiments, and acted as the chief representative of the army. He now negotiated with Lenthall the Speaker for the restoration of the Long Parliament, and its members again sat at Westminster. Lambert was made a member of the Committee of Safety and of the Council of State, and he was one of the seven commissioners for the nomination of officers.

In August, 1659, a rising in favour of the King occurred in Cheshire under Sir G. Booth. The Parliament entrusted Lambert with the charge of the expedition against the Royalists. On the 22nd he sent the following graphic account of his movements and victory: 'On Thursday morning, although it proved very un-

seasonable for rain, yet, judging your service required expedition, and finding a great resolution in the soldiery to encounter all difficulties, according to former resolution, upon full debate with the superior officers, resting upon the providence of God, we advanced towards Chester; and being marched about five miles, we had certain intelligence that the enemy, with about 4,000 or 5,000 horse and foot, were marching towards Northwich, which caused us to alter our resolution and to march directly to the forest of De la More, over which they were to pass; and having arrived there, we had notice that they were about three miles before us. Your forces marched with that cheerfulness, that had we had day enough we should in all probability have engaged them before they left Northwich; but, do what we could, we only gained a view of their Rear-guard in the dusk of the evening, and took 3 or 4 prisoners. That night they quartered at Northwich, and we at a small village called Weeverham, from whence the next morning we advanced very early towards them, and before we had march't a mile we discovered both their horse and foot half a mile on this side Northwich, drawing amongst the inclosures where it was impossible for horse to do service, and not without difficulty for the foot to break through. We presently engaged them, and after a short dispute they quitted their ground, and retreated from hedge to hedge, yet in that order that they suffered very little damage, it being impossible for our horse to fall in amongst them, and at length came to Winnington Bridge, behind which they retreated, without any other loss than that of reputation, and discouragement in



meeting with those whom they found of equal courage, but engaged in a better cause. Their next endeavour was to secure that Bridge, which they had good reason to hope for, considering the advantages they had in regard the river, which was unfordable, the Bridge narrow flank'd with a strong ditch on the farr end and a high hill upon which no horse could pass otherwise than along the side of a narrow path. But the forces, having their former courage increased by seeing the presence of God with them, fell on as if they had been on equal terms; and after a short dispute the enemy, having spent two or three good volleys, our men still advancing upon them, they quit their station, and gave way for both horse and foot to march over. Our horse, which hitherto had been useless, advanced over the bridge together with some foot. The horse made towards a party of them, which I judge was of their choicest, and came to secure the retreat of their foot, and the foot charging up the hill after their retreating column, our horse charged, but by reason of the narrowness of the way in small parties. To speak the truth, that of the horse on both sides was performed like Englishmen, but ours got the better, and the enemy turned their backs. We had the pursuit of them above a quarter of a mile, where they again made head, but were routed, and thereupon their horse and foot fled on all hands, and our work was only to give them chase. Most of their foot got into enclosures and escaped, our wearied foot not being able to overtake them. Their horse divided, some toward Chester and Warrington, where they could proceed no further. And although I cannot say that your victory was great in respect of



prisoners and slain, yet I judge it a total rout, or which by the providence of God may be improved into so much. I cannot hear that we have above one man slain outright, and not above three dangerously wounded: of the enemy not above 30 slain: of prisoners, I have not full account yet, but I suppose about three hundred, whereof most are horsemen, and some field Officers of quality.'

The Parliament, to show their appreciation of this exploit, passed a resolution that 'a jewel of £1,000 value, with a letter of thanks, be presented to Lord Lambert as a mark of favour for this signal service.'

In September, 1659, he left Chester, and returned to his seat at Calton in Craven. Good for him would it have been if he had stayed there; but his restless spirit, it seems, was not satisfied with the quiet life of a country gentleman of those days. He desired the position of Major-General again, which practically gave him command of the army; but the Parliament, who feared his ambition, lest he should try to make himself Protector, refused him this honour. Clarendon says: 'Lambert, instead of coming to town, found some delays in his march (as if all were not safe) to seize upon the persons of delinquents. He was well informed of their good purposes towards him, and knew that the Parliament intended to make a peace with all foreigners, and to disband their army, except only some few regiments, which should consist only of some few persons at their devotion. He foresaw what his portion must then be, and that all the ill he had done towards them would be remembered and the good forgotten. He therefore contrived a petition, which

was signed by the inferior officers of his army, in which they desired the Parliament that they might be governed, as all armies used to be, by a General who might be amongst them, and other officers according to their qualities subordinate to them.'

The address was entitled the 'Humble Petition and Proposals of the Army under the Command of Lord Lambert in the late Northern Expedition.' They asked also that the army might be committed to Fleetwood, and that Lambert might be made Major-General. This was done by Lambert's advice, as he knew that he could govern Fleetwood. But the petition was refused—the House did not collect Custom or Excise—and then proceeded to cashier Lambert and eight other principal officers, and committed the whole government of the army to seven commissioners. These measures drove Lambert to a very high-handed proceeding, similar to that which was so successfully accomplished by his illustrious colleague when he said, 'Take away that fool's bauble!' only in this case the scene was enacted outside the walls of the House of Commons. Again, we quote the words of Clarendon: 'Lambert placed himself in King Street to expect when the Speaker would come to the House, who at his accustomed hour came, in his usual state, guarded with his troop of horse. Lambert rode up to the Speaker, and told him that "there was nothing to be done at Westminster," and therefore advised him to return back again to his own house, which he refused to do, and endeavoured to proceed, and called his guard to make way, upon which Lambert rode to the Captain and pulled him off his horse, and bid Major Creed, who had formerly com-

manded that troop, to mount into his saddle, which he presently did. Then he took away the mace, and bid Major Creed conduct Mr. Lenthall to his house. Whereupon he made his coachman turn, and, without the least contradiction, the troop marched very quietly till he was alighted at his own house, and then disposed of themselves as their new Captain commanded them.'

Lambert told Ludlow a few days later that he had no previous intention of interrupting Parliament, that he was urged on to the steps he took for his own preservation, saying that Sir A. Haslerig was enraged against him, and that he would be satisfied with nothing but his blood.

The Council now made Lambert Major-General, and he became a member of the Committee of Safety. The fifth monarchy men, it is said, distrusted him as having no religion or show of it. The Royalists expected him to make himself Protector, and were eager to bribe him to restore the King (*cf.* 'Dictionary of National Biography').

In an imaginary conversation between Vane, Fleetwood, Ludlow, and Lambert, published at this time, the latter, in answer to Fleetwood's question, 'What do you intend to be?' Answer, 'Why, all the world may guess: I intend as fast as I can bring it about to be King of the three nations.' This pamphlet is entitled 'A Brief Account of the Meeting, Proceedings, and Exit of the Committee of Safety,' taken in shorthand by a clerk of the said Committee. London: Printed for I. Williamson, 1659.

The importance and influence of the Major-General



at this crisis may be gathered from the following proposals, which it is said were made about this time: Lord Mordaunt proposed a match between the Duke of York and Lambert's daughter, and Lord Hatton suggested that the King should marry her himself. 'No foreign aid,' wrote Hatton, 'will be so cheap nor leave our master so much at liberty as this way. The race is a good gentleman's family, and Kings have condescended to gentlemen and subjects. The lady is pretty, of an extraordinary sweetness of disposition, and very virtuously and ingenuously disposed; the father is a person, set aside his unhappy engagement, of very great parts and very noble inclinations.'

Whilst these altercations were taking place between Lambert's party and the Parliament in England, there was a shrewd General in Scotland, commanding a portion of the army, who was quietly watching the course of events. This was General Monk, who was anxious to bring about the restoration of the Royal Family when he could find a favourable opportunity; but at present he kept his own counsel, and merely declared for the Parliament which Lambert had tried to suppress. Monk with his army now marched towards England, saying that he came for the better settlement of the government there. The Committee of Safety, on hearing of the movements of Monk, sent Lambert with an army of 7,000 men to meet him on his march, and, if he could not win him to co-operation with the army, to resist his advance by force.

They also sent a deputation to Monk, which he graciously received, and as he seemed inclined to fall in with the views of the Committee of Safety, negotia-



tions were opened. But there was now a strong feeling in the country in favour of the restoration of constitutional government. The fleet under Admiral Lawson, on December 17, and the troops in London and in the South, declared themselves in favour of Parliament. On Christmas Eve Desborough's regiment, which Lambert had sent back to check these movements, on hearing the news at St. Albans also declared for Parliament. On the 26th the 'Rump,' as it was called, met at Westminster, and amongst other resolutions they ordered that Lambert and other officers should give up their commissions and retire from London. They also sent an order to Lambert's soldiers to leave their officers. In this they were obeyed, and Lambert soon found himself with only about 100 men. At Northallerton his officers took their leave of him with tears in their eyes, and he retired to his house in Craven. Consequently, General Monk marched on to London unopposed. On his arrival he did all he could to strengthen the Royalist party in the House of Commons and in the country. Lambert's opportunity of effecting anything was now past. After he had been deprived of his commission, he was ordered to go to Holmby House in Northamptonshire. Shortly afterwards a proclamation was ordered for his arrest on the charge that he was privately lurking in London, and that he had provoked the mutiny which occurred on February 2. At the beginning of the next month he surrendered himself to the new Council of State. Ludlow says: 'Lambert, who had hitherto concealed himself in hopes of finding an opportunity to appear at the head of some party, and thereby prevent the

design of Monk, finding that the army had for the most part submitted to the authority of the secluded members, surrenders himself to the new Council of State, in hopes of better terms from them than he could have promised himself from the former, who, he thought, would have been more likely to resent the force he had put upon Parliament; but they, contrary to his expectation, requiring him to give security' (£20,000) 'for his quiet deportment, upon his refusall commit him to the Tower' (March 5). The Republican party by this time began to realize more fully that Monk's intention was the restoration of Charles II. And when they looked around for someone to help them in their extremity there was no one more suited for that purpose than the intrepid Major-General who was now languishing in the Tower of London. Accordingly, they effected his escape from the Tower, which took place on April 10. His escape is thus related by Rugge: 'That about eight of the clock at night he escaped by a rope tied fast to his window, by which he slid down, and in each hand he had a handkerchief; and six men were ready to receive him, who had a barge to hasten him away. She who made the bed being privy to his escape, that night, to blind the warder when he came to lock the chamber-door, went to bed, and possessed Colonel Lambert's place, and put on his night-cap. So when the warder came to lock the door, according to his usual manner, he found the curtains drawn, and conceiving it to be Colonel John Lambert, he said: "Good-night, my lord." To which a seeming voice replied, and prevented all further jealousies. The next morning, on coming to unlock

the door, and espying her face, he cried out: "In the name of God, Joan, what makes you here? Where is my Lord Lambert?" She said: "He is gone, but I cannot tell whither." Whereupon he caused her to rise and carried her before the officer in the Tower, and she was committed to custody. Some say that a lady knit for him a garter of silk, by which he was conveyed down, and that she received £100 for her pains.'

As soon as he was free, Lambert sent messengers to his friends in the country to meet him with as many soldiers as they could raise at Edgehill in Warwickshire, in order that together they might make one last effort to maintain the republican form of government in England, and frustrate the designs of Monk.

But Lambert's party was too much divided and demoralized to make any adequate effort. Only six troops of horse arrived and a number of officers. The Parliament, on hearing of Lambert's escape and intentions, sent a few soldiers under Colonel Ingoldsby with orders to seize the fugitive. The two forces met near Daventry. A Captain Haslerig with his troop, at the solicitation of Ingoldsby, deserted Lambert, and as the remainder of his soldiers refused to fight, the hero of many victories, after some parleying, in which he tried to induce Ingoldsby to join him in obtaining the restoration of Richard Cromwell, but without success, surrendered himself to the Colonel. He was brought back to London. Burnet, in the 'History of his Own Times,' vol. i., p. 85, relates the following anecdote, which he said he had from Ingoldsby: 'When he was taken the people were in crowds shouting for the success of his capture. "This reminds me," said Lambert,



with great good humour, "of what Cromwell once said to us both near this very place as we were going with a body of officers after our troops, marching into Scotland, in the year 1650, the people as now shouting and wishing us success. I observed to Cromwell I was glad to see we had the nation on our side. Cromwell answered: 'Do not trust to that, for these very people would shout as much if you and I were going to be hanged.'" Lambert said to Ingoldsby: "Now he looked upon himself in a fair way to that, and began to think Cromwell prophesied" (Whitaker's 'Craven,' 3rd ed., p. 259).

After the Restoration an Act of Indemnity was passed, and many who had taken part in the rebellion were sentenced to death. But as Lambert had taken no part in the King's trial and execution, he was excepted with twenty persons for punishment not extending to death. Some of the lords desired to mitigate his punishment, and as Lambert sued for pardon, declaring that he was satisfied with the present government, and was ready to spend the rest of his life in peace, he was merely banished to Guernsey in 1660. On February 17, 1661, a license was granted to Mrs. Lambert, with three children and three maidservants, to go to Guernsey and remain with her husband. In April, 1662, the General was, with Sir H. Vane, brought to England and tried in June of the same year for levying war against the King. On Friday, June 16, Lambert behaved with great moderation when before his judges; he pleaded for his life, saying in extenuation of the part he had taken against Sir G. Booth and Monk that he was ignorant of their intentions, neither



of them having then declared that they designed to restore the King. However, he was condemned by the court, but his sentence was commuted to banishment, and he was sent back to Guernsey. On July 25 a warrant was issued to Lord Hatton, the Governor of the island, 'to take into his custody the person of John Lambert, commonly called Colonel Lambert, and to keep him a close prisoner as a condemned traitor till further orders.' On November 18 following, directions were given from the King, by the intervention of Lord Clarendon, to Hatton 'to give such liberty and indulgence to Colonel John Lambert within the precincts of the island as will consist with the security of his person.' In 1664 he was again closely confined for a time. Two years after, a plot for his escape being discovered, the Governor was instructed to shoot his prisoner if the French landed. A clandestine marriage between Mary Lambert and the Governor's son further strained his relations with Hatton ('Dictionary of National Biography'). A gentleman living in the Isle of Guernsey in the eighteenth century says (*cf.* Hurtle's 'Malham,' pp. 198, 199): 'The General was kept a prisoner in a fortress called Castle Cornet situated on a rock near the entrance of this port. He was permitted now and then to come to the Island, when he mostly spent his time in roving about the fields culling of simples. He had a great taste and talent for botany, and knew the nature and virtues of all medicinal herbs and plants. He was looked upon as a great physician by the people, who constantly resorted to the Castle to consult him on every disorder they were afflicted with—for at that time there were no physicians or surgeons on the island—and he

gave a number of useful receipts to a gentlewoman residing in the country who was known to many persons now living.'

In 1667 he was removed to St. Nicholas Isle in Plymouth Sound. There he was visited, in 1673, by Miles Halhead, a Quaker, and he charged Lambert with permitting the persecution of that sect in the time of his power. This the captive General denied. Halhead thus alludes to his interview: 'So he and his wife and two of his daughters and myself and a Friend of Plymouth discoursed two hours or more in love and plainness of heart, for my heart was full of love to him, his wife and children; and when I was free I took leave of them and parted with them in love.'

In December, 1667, the petition of Mrs. Lambert that Colonel Lambert and herself and children might take a house to live in was granted, he giving security that he would remain a prisoner. He died in the severe winter of 1683. His death is registered in the books of St. Andrew's Church, Plymouth, on March 28, 1684. Although he was only sixty-four years of age at the time of his decease, the exertions and hardships of his former years had left their mark upon him, so that he became prematurely aged, and he lost his 'memory and sense' some time before he died. He had ten children. The only son who survived his father was John Lambert, of Calton, who was Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1699. He married Barbara, daughter of Thomas Lister, Esquire, of Arnoldsbiggin, Gisburn. It appears from the deed of the marriage settlement in 1672 that the manors and estates in the neighbourhood of Calton, which had been forfeited in consequence of his father's

attainder, were repurchased from Lord Bellasys, to whom they had been granted by King Charles II. in 1663. This John Lambert died, and was buried at Kirkby Malham (March 20, 1701). He had four children, but only one daughter—Frances, baptized at Kirkby Malham May 26, 1675—survived him. She married, at Kirkby Malham (June 15, 1699) Sir John Middleton, Bart., of Belsay Castle, co. Northumberland. As she inherited all the Lambert estates, they passed into the Middleton family through this marriage, but they were sold again some time in the eighteenth century. The present representative of this family is Sir Arthur E. Middleton, of Belsay Castle, to whose kindness I am indebted for the reproduction of the interesting picture of Cromwell and Lambert which stands at the beginning of this memoir.

There are now few traces of this once powerful family of the Lamberts to be found in Malham parish. But there is an old tradition of the General's soldiers seizing on some oatmeal belonging to a neighbour at Scotstrophe; they shovelled it out of an old oak ark, or kist, in which it was customary for people in Craven to keep their winter supply. The meal was then put through a window by the soldiers into a waggon stationed below.

It is also said, that a troop of Lambert's soldiers passing through Airton had an altercation with some persons who were sitting in the front of a house, on the right hand side as you enter the village from Skipton. The soldiers slew two of them, and they were buried in a field near the garden of the house. The tombstones remained until a few years ago, when



they were taken away and used for some building operations in the neighbourhood. I had these traditions from one who has long known the neighbourhood and who heard them from an old inhabitant whose family had been resident in the parish of Malham for many generations. Thus, the story had been handed down for 250 years—a striking instance of the survival of an oral local tradition; for I am not aware that these little incidents have ever before been committed to paper.

The house at Calton in which the General lived was burnt to the ground in the lifetime of his son, who erected a plain stone mansion on its site. This building, having fallen into decay, was replaced in the early part of the nineteenth century by the present white house. An ancient sundial, inscribed ‘I. L. W. F. (W. Fairfax), 1688,’ still remains, and a portion of an old archway may have belonged to the seventeenth-century house.

Winterburn Chapel—the first Dissenters’ meeting-house in Craven—was built by Mrs. Lambert, the wife of General Lambert’s son, and she attended the prayers and preaching there; but her husband always went on Sundays to Kirkby Malham Church. Mr. Ralph Thoresby, in his *Diary* (vol. i., p. 264), relates a curious incident, in which this lady’s religious habits are mentioned :

1694.—‘From Skipton, over the river Aire eight times in three miles to Gargrave; thence, on to Conniston, where the young man lived that was of late years so remarkably converted by reading some pages (dropped from Madam Lambert, of Cowton [Calton]



as she was reading in the book on her way to the meeting) of Mr. Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted," strangely brought into the house by a little dog.' And then he adds, as he journeys towards Settle: 'Saw the place where General Lambert's younger son was lately drowned.'

At Kirkby Malham Church a photograph of the General's sword is framed in the vestry. The sword itself, which is at Farnley Hall, is 'a hanger, serrated at the back, the handle formed of gilt brass, representing a lion on his haunches and holding with his forepaws the guard, which consists of a single bow. The blade bears the blade-mark of a dolphin, and date 1648' (*cf.* Speight's 'Upper Wharfedale').

The register in the same church records the marriage of Martin Knowles of Middlehouse to Dorothy Hartley of West Marton on January 17, 1655, before Oliver Cromwell. Doubt has been thrown upon the authenticity of the signature, but perhaps without sufficient reason. In the beginning of that year the Protector's movements are known till January 11; after that date for a short time there is no record of his actions. May we not, therefore, assume that he was in Yorkshire? There is another entry of a marriage on July 25 of the same year, with the signature 'Oliver Cromwell'; but in this case it is possible to prove an alibi, for the Protector was present at Councils of State in London on July 24 and 26. There is also a third signature of his on the same page, which has been partly obliterated by a later hand. It has not been remarked by those who have examined the registers that in these pages of the Commonwealth period most of the entries were not

signed by the magistrate, except that 'Assheton' (Sir J.) signed one or two. I would therefore submit, as a solution of the difficulty about the Cromwell signatures, that the Protector was present at one of these marriages—as the guest of General Lambert—and that he was asked, as the first magistrate in the realm, to sign the others, at which he was not present, by the friends and relatives of the contracting parties, who wished, in a turbulent period, for a greater security than a mere unsigned entry.

Lambert was fond of art, and bought divers rare pictures which had belonged to Charles I., and he himself is said to have painted flowers, and even a portrait of Charles I. Walpole (*cf.* 'Anecdotes,' Dallaway's ed., vol. ii., p. 362) says: 'He was a good performer in flowers; some of his works were at the Duke of Leeds' at Wimbledon, and it was supposed that he received instruction from Baptist Gaspar, whom he retained in his service. The General's son, John Lambert, painted portraits.' The father was also wont to amuse himself with gardening. In a satirical romance he is described as the 'Knight of the Golden Tulip,' and he is credited with having introduced the Guernsey lily into England.

As two hundred and fifty years have passed away since the subject of this memoir took a prominent part in the affairs of his country, it is difficult to form a true estimate of his character and abilities; and this difficulty is increased by the fact that, unlike Ludlow, Whitelock, and Clarendon, he did not leave behind him any Diary or Memorials of his times. From his portraits—and there are three or four which are well

known: one at Gisburne Park, another at Eshton Hall, besides those at Belsay Castle and in the National Portrait Gallery—his high forehead, prominent nose, and firm chin proclaim him to have been a man of great parts. His courage and skill as a warrior were fully displayed on the fields of Marston Moor, Dunbar, and Worcester. He was never beaten except in one or two minor engagements. It is said that he was generous to his opponents, and kind to his prisoners. He seems to have possessed something of that magnetic attraction for the soldier which marks the great commander. In political life he did not shine so brilliantly. He had the reticence and shrewdness which are so often found together in this part of the country; but it was not easy even for his friends always to understand his policy or to probe his feelings, so that on one occasion Cromwell spoke of him as ‘Bottomless.’

A recent historian (S. R. Gardiner) mentions ‘his poverty of ideas, his readiness to be drawn aside by personal considerations, and his disinclination to commit himself to any distinct line of action.’ It is quite evident, from the part which he took in 1659, when he imitated Cromwell in the suppression of Parliament, that although his influence was very great in the military circle, yet he lacked that commanding personality and that accurate insight into the spirit of the time which in one case caused this arbitrary action to be the means of placing the greater man at the head of the nation, and in the other case brought about the ruin of the weaker man.

However, it must be admitted by impartial readers that he was a true patriot. He believed that the



country required a reformation in government, with greater liberty; as he said, 'let the people's liberties be in the bond.' He was to a great extent free from the hypocrisy and religious fanaticism which was sometimes to be found in the party which claimed him as an adherent. And although we cannot agree with all the methods he used to accomplish his ends, we are bound to confess that, after all, he was a great Englishman.

## APPENDIX.

*Letters from the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library, and from the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.*

‘TO THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD FAIRFAX, GENERALL  
OF ALL THE ENGLISH FORCES IN THE NORTH FOR  
KING AND PARLIAMENT.

‘I have received yours, and I am exceedingly glad to hear of your health, for some wavering reports made your friends uncertain (ye last weeke) and fearful of you. I have hitherto been kept from wayting upon you by reason of my indisposicon, but now, though not altogether so healthful as formerly, I shall be upon my journey this next weeke. The housses have this day ordered that you shall command the army in these parts, which is to consist of 6,000 horse, 1,000 dragoones, and 14,000 foote. The names of the Colonels whereof this enclosed paper reportes. For the list of weekes, passages, I must refer you unto the enclosed, and only add that the newes of the defeat of



Coll. Gerrarde is since confirmed, and likewise the Confinement of the three Lordes att Oxford. Sir Peter Killigrew is hourly expected to returne with his message from the Kinge. And thus I shall humbly take leave, and resting

‘Your most faithful humble servant,

‘J. LAMBERT.

‘LONDON,

‘*Jan. ye 21st, 1644.*’

‘TO LORD HATTON.

‘MY LORD,

‘I formerly gave your Lordship the trouble of an acknowledgment of your favourable inclinations for the settinge up of younge Gardener, and had before this seconded it by the intended (?) catalogue there mentioned, but that Dr. How did assure me he had sent one which I gave him, being such flowers and plantes as upon the first view of his book I did judge desirable, since which I have received this further advise that your Lordship desires to know the intent of some marginal marks, and if I should leave your Lordship to your own judgment, you would be able to make a better choice for me. For the marks were only such as the Doctor himself made, being such plantes as he was able to furnish me with himself, which in regard to his indisposition I suppose he forgot to stricke out; and for the other I judge it so obliging and advantageous a Proposal for me that (that it may not occasion you too great trouble, or that you have not already made too large a Proceede) with thankfulness I do embrace it, and desire you to order them as you judge best. For

the *Ænemones* they are by the description of their colours so rare and unknown here as I shall deem your Lordship to adde what more about them you judge fit, and also the same for the Irises and the Tulips I chiefly desire the "Precox" that I may know the price of the dearest before your Lordship comes to . . . but this I speak with that indifference as I beseech you it may not in the least kind either disorder or alter any proceed already made. My Lord, this enclosed has the confidence to present your Lordship with the names of half a dozen plants which I find not either in the Duke of Orleans' or Monr. Morins' Catalogue. If they be strangers, your Lordship may command them or anything else in the power of him who begs your pardon for this great confidence, and remains,

'My Lord,

'Your Lordship's very humble

'J. LAMBERT.

'LONDON,

'Sept. 7' (probably 1657 or 1658).

'To SECRETARY THURLOE.

'I was yesterday att Whithall to have waited upon you, but some other occasions not permitinge, and my little affaires wanting and hoping for your further assistance, in which expedicon will be as necessary as anything. I have taken this freedom to desire you to permitt Will Walker to acquaint you with so much of it as may leade to understand ye groundes of my further desires to you. If your leisure permitt you to give a hearing to any mention of it, he will account it

to you. Sir, if I were of a craving nature, your former readiness upon all occasions would so far correct that spirit that it durst not appear to press anything further than your own satisfaction dictates, therefore I shall say no more but to assure you that I am,

‘Your affectionate friend and very humble servant,

‘J. LAMBERT.

‘WIMBLETON,

‘*23rd of October, 1658.*’

## EDWARD WILSON

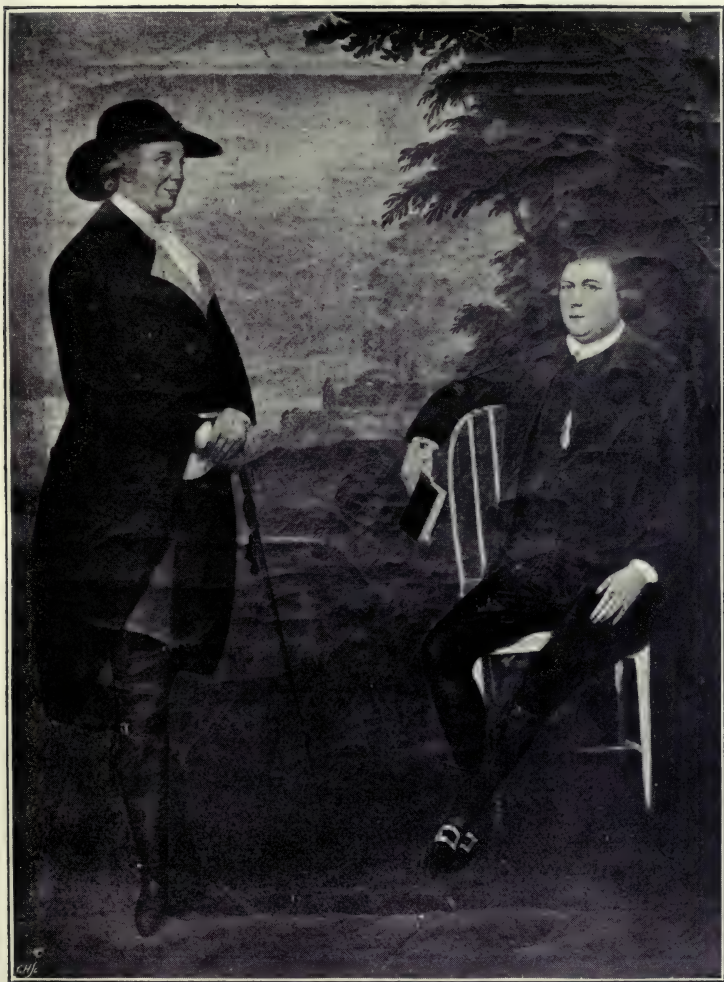
‘He had piety without superstition, and moderation without meanness ; an open and liberal way of thinking, and a constant attachment to the cause of sober and national liberty both civil and religious. Thus he lived and died, and few men ever passed through this malevolent world better beloved, or less censured than he.’

ON June 6, 1739, a little baby-boy was christened by his father, the incumbent, in the chapel at the remote hamlet of Halton Gill. This child, whose career forms the subject of this chapter, was destined to become the first tutor of that well-known statesman William Pitt, for it is true, as the Greek poet writes :

*‘τῶν ἀδοκητῶν πόρον ἤυρε θεός.’*

The reader will naturally enquire in what kind of surroundings was the boy brought up who was afterwards allowed to instruct and give the earliest lessons to that great mind, which in a critical period of English history, exercised a mighty influence over a considerable part of the civilized world. First, we notice that his father, Miles Wilson, was a remarkable man. He was probably a Dalesman, and he had not received a University education, but that he was a man of no mean attainments is evident from the list





EDWARD WILSON, M.A.,  
CANON OF WINDSOR,  
AND  
THE REVEREND THOMAS WILSON, M.A.



of books in his library which has been preserved. The following works: 'A Hebrew Exposition of the Psalms,' 1650; 'Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ,' 1658; 'Aristophanis Comediæ,' 4to., 1625; and 'Minucii Felicis Octavius,' 4to., 1662, with many other volumes in the three sacred tongues, all go to prove that he had some acquaintance with those studies and languages which should form a part of the education of every clergyman. And that his reading passed the ordinary range of theological and classical literature may be inferred by another glance at his list of books. Turning over the pages of the catalogue we notice these: 'Epitome of Navigation,' 1698; 'Eikon Basilike,' 1648; 'Systema Compendiosum Totius Mathematicis per Keckerman,' 1621; 'An Account of a Voyage from Archangel in Russia,' 1697; 'Cantipratani Bonum Universale de Apibus'; 'Hampstead Wells, or Directions for Drinking of those Waters,' 1734; 'A Sure Guide to Hell,' by Beelzebub (no date). So if it be true that a man may be known by his library, we may conclude that Miles Wilson was a man of a very versatile and yet well-instructed mind. But he was not content with making a wide acquaintance with many and various authors; he also contributed his own little quota to the literature of his times in the form of a small book entitled 'The Man in the Moon.' The work is thus described by Dr. Whitaker, the author of the 'History of Craven': "The Man in the Moon" was seriously meant to convey the knowledge of common astronomy in the following strange vehicle. A cobbler, Israel Jobson by name, is supposed to ascend first to the top of Penigent, and thence, as a second stage equally

practicable, to the moon, after which he makes a tour of the whole solar system. From this excursion, however, the traveller brings back little information which might not have been had upon earth, excepting that the inhabitants of one of the planets, I forget which, were made of pot-metal. The work contains some other extravagances; but the writer was, after all, a man of talents, and has abundantly shown that, had he been blessed with a sound mind and a superior education, he would have been capable of much better things. If I had the book before me I could quote single passages here and there which in point of composition rise to no mean degree of excellence.' As far as I have been able to ascertain, no copy of this work is now extant. The learned historian of Craven is a little hard upon Mr. Wilson's eccentricities. He had also a genius for mechanical work of various kinds, as the few memorials of his skill abundantly testify. These consist of a weather-glass, a representation in wood of an ape blowing a trumpet, and a figure of a human head which stood on a base of wood, and could be moved to and fro. The fame of this human head reached the ears of Dr. Whitaker. He says: 'Miles Wilson had good mechanical hands, and carved well in wood, a talent which he applied to several whimsical purposes. But his *chef-d'œuvre* was an oracular head like that of Friar Bacon and the disciple of the famous Escotillo, with which he diverted himself and his neighbours, till a certain reverend wiseacre threatened to complain of the poor man to his metropolitan as an enchanter. After this the oracle was mute.' Report says that the parson was given to the practice of the curious arts,



and he had the reputation of being able to prognosticate future events.

Under the tuition of his clever but eccentric father and the care of his mother (Dorothy Lambert, a yeoman's daughter), Edward Wilson passed his youthful days at Halton Gill during the reign of George II. They were not eventful years in the political world, like those which he passed through at the end of the century. He would have no recollections of any public events in his boyish days except the reports which he may have heard of the consternation which the march of the Stuart Prince, in the rebellion of 1745, must have made in the neighbourhood of Halton Gill when the army passed not many miles to the west of his home. When he became older and passed out of his father's hands in the matter of instruction, he was sent, with his younger brother Thomas (baptized June 10, 1743), to finish his education at Appleby Grammar School, where the celebrated Mr. Yates was master, and he had amongst his associates there, Langhorne, afterwards a well-known scholar and writer, and Collinson, who became Provost of Queen's College, Oxford. Edward Wilson was matriculated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, as a Sizar, on June 22, 1757. The entry in the college books is next but one to that of the poet Gray.

It is much to the credit of their father when we are able to say that, with his 'unwealthy mountain benefice,' and without any considerable private means, he was able to educate his two sons and send them to the University of Cambridge. Tradition says that these two Craven students were accustomed to walk the dis-

tance between their father's home and the University when the end of the term brought them into Craven, or the end of the vacation required their return to the University. After Edward Wilson had taken his degree (Junior opt. B.A. 1761, M.A. 1769) he was appointed tutor to the two sons of the Earl of Chatham. From this time he was on the road to high preferment.

He had charge of the education of the two boys for eight years—from William Pitts' sixth until his fourteenth year. He resided with them, first at Weymouth, and then at Burton Pynsent, the seat of the Chatham family. I have also heard that he had the Pitts with him at Binfield. Three letters of Edward Wilson, written in 1766 from Weymouth to Lady Chatham, are published in the 'Chatham Correspondence' (vol. iii., p. 26), in which he speaks of her younger son's wonderful precocity and engaging manners. In the year 1773 he accompanied him to Cambridge, and resided in the same rooms with him. Bishop Tomline says: 'On account of the private manner in which he had been hitherto educated, his tender age, and the extreme delicacy of his constitution, it was thought right that Mr. Wilson should live with him for a few weeks in the same college apartment, without, however, having any concern in the direction of his studies.' The Bishop adds: 'He was so quick, it was justly observed by Mr. Wilson he never seemed to learn, but always to recollect.' The following letter written by the Earl of Chatham to Mr. Joseph Turner, Senior Tutor of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, indicates how high Mr. Wilson stood in his lordship's esteem :

‘SIR,

‘Apprehensions of gout about this season forbid my undertaking a journey to Cambridge with my son. I regret this more particularly as it deprives me of an occasion of being introduced to your Personal Acquaintance and that of the gentlemen of your society, a loss which I shall much wish to repair at some other time. Mr. Wilson, whose admirable instruction and affectionate care have brought my son early to receive such further advantages as he cannot fail to find under your eye, will present him to you. . . .

‘Yours, etc.,

‘CHATHAM.’\*

In other letters the Earl of Chatham thus alludes to Mr. Wilson. In 1773: ‘With what ease of mind and joy of heart I write to the loved William since Mr. Wilson’s comfortable letter of Monday. My affectionate remembrances go in great abundance to Mr. Wilson.’ The Earl had apparently provided a horse for his son’s tutor, and writes thus: ‘Stucky will carry Mr. Wilson safely, and I trust not unpleasantly. The brother of the turf may hold the solid contents of his shoulders and forehead somewhat cheap, but by Dan’s leave he is no uncreditable *clerical* steed.’ And Pitt in his greatness did not forget the instructor and companion of his youth. He obtained for Edward Wilson the Rectory of Binfield (instituted December 31, 1767), a Canonry at Windsor, to which he was instituted on March 13, 1784, and a Canonry at Gloucester Cathedral, all valuable preferments. Wilson was also a

\* Cf. Lord Rosebery’s ‘Pitt.’



magistrate of the County of Berks and Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Chatham. Consequently, from his close connection with the royal residence at Windsor and his friendship with the Pitt family, the son of Miles Wilson of Halton Gill associated with many of the most distinguished men of his day. Why he was not raised to the episcopal bench may perhaps be explained by a remark in the Rev. E. Paley's life of his father, the Archdeacon, where he says: 'The Rev. E. Wilson, who was Mr. Pitt's early tutor, whose rise is said to have been limited by some doubts of his orthodoxy to a Canonry at Windsor and Rectory at Binfield, seems to have been a much valued friend.' A series of letters which the Canon addressed at various times to his sister Jane, who married a farmer, Mr. Knowles, and who continued to reside at Halton Gill after her father's death, throw some light upon the state of the Church and Nation in those troublous times, and they give us glimpses of the kind of life which a distinguished ecclesiastic lived at the end of the eighteenth century. In the first letter Mrs. Wilson describes her eldest son's (Giffin) marriage to a Miss Jouvençal in 1787. (Mr. Giffin Wilson afterwards became Recorder of Windsor, K.C., a Master of the High Court of Chancery. He received the honour of knighthood from King George IV. in 1823, and he died in London August 4, 1848. His second wife was a sister of General George Hotham.) 'I beg your pardon for not sending you an exact account of our wedding. It was only because I was afraid your spirits were not enough composed to relish the jovial details, or I would have hastened it to you directly; briefly



then, It was as private as possible, nobody there but one young lady of Miss Jovençal's acquaintance who was bridesmaid. Gloucester (the second son) was father ; he gave the lady away. It was in compliance with her wish that even my brother Tom should not be there, altho' he is a very great favourite of hers, and she was much delighted with a visit he made here a fortnight after. But to my story. We endeavoured to make all our poorer neighbours as happy as we could. Every farmer's wife in the parish had a pound of good plum-cake and a bottle of wine sent her. A calf was killed and with ale and wine distributed to the populace. All our workmen, labourers, servants, etc., had a table and supper provided for them, the ringers another, so that one old man in the name of the rest, declared the oldest man in Binfield, never saw such a wedding. And in the Evening they all came and gratefully danced before our door for near an hour. So far all was delightful and comfortable, but I am sure you will grieve to hear that the young lady herself is in a very ill state of health.'

The following letter will show that Canon Wilson still retained an interest in his native dale and its inhabitants :

'BINFIELD,

'*August ye 25th, 1789.*

'DEAR SISTER,

'I do not know who wrote last, but I have intended to write to you a great while, and have waited from day to day only to learn what were my brother's plans, as he talked of coming to the North this summer, and to take us in his way. We have been expecting to see him ever since May ; I wrote to enquire what was

become of him, and told him that he would let the summer slip through his fingers, and yesterday I had an answer from London to inform us that he was on the road, and would be with us to-morrow. I therefore should have postponed my letter till after his arrival, but, as Admiral Leveson and Commodore Bowyer have just made me a morning visit, the opportunity of procuring a Frank induces me to write to-day. I wish to tell you that the next small Living that falls vacant in the gift of the Dean and Canons of Windsor will probably be at my disposal, but I desire you to understand that I only say this in secret to you, for I know people enough that would be desirous of it; but bearing in mind what you said about L—— of Deepdale and A—— of Litton Hall, I shall be glad to know all that you know of them both, and whether your wishes continue as favourable to them as they were. If L—— has taken a degree at College, and the Living of All Saints in Herefordshire should drop first, it may be in my power to give it him, or exchange it for something else in the gift of the Bishop of Carlisle, who wants it for a friend of his. In the latter case, a Living in Westmoreland or Cumberland might be full as desirable to the A——'s, but let me know whether Richard is full four-and-twenty, and whether from what you know of him he would do credit to my Patronage. My knowledge of the family does not entitle them to any favours from us, but as You say Duke and his wife have behaved well to you, I shall be glad to put it in your power to shew them favour for it. I have made some private enquiries about him at Oxford, and hear nothing amiss of Richard there, but I fear he is not yet old

enough. He must be complete 24 to take a Living, and we cannot keep it vacant above six months. I heard of Timothy Hill a few weeks ago by Birkbeck, who had seen him at Settle, from which I conclude he still follows the old trade of badgering. I am glad to hear that he is still able to do it ; for my part, it would now be a serious journey for me to ride from Halton Gill to Settle and back. I am about the same distance from Windsor, but tho' it is all the way a level gravel walk or a pleasant green turf, shaded almost all the way with trees, I have only gone on horseback once this summer. I frequently ride to Bracknell, or perhaps as far as 5 or 6 miles out, before dinner ; but 10 miles out is a great undertaking, and especially to get on horseback after I have dined. I do not feel to myself larger than when you saw me last, but as Selina says I am a great deal, and many people are inclined to be of the same opinion, I suppose they are better judges than I am. Selina and all of us are at present very well, and feel no little comfort in having got rid of workmen of all kinds, and being settled in a very elegant house' [Canon Wilson lived at the Grove, Binfield, now owned and occupied by Sir Robert Wilmot, Bart.] 'every way fit for a man of two or three times my income, with delightful gardens and hedgerow walks belonging to it, in a situation that wants nothing but water to make it everything that is beautiful. I wish I could show it you, but I suppose it would be as difficult a task to get you hither as for me to ride to Halton Gill on horseback. All here join in love, duty, and all good wishes to yourself, Wilson, Molly and Ann Holmes, and all friends with your affect. brother,

‘ E. WILSON.’



‘BINFIELD,

‘*Nov. ye 18th, 1789.*

‘DEAR SISTER,

‘I have this day sent off a box for you, directed to the care of the Postmaster at Settle, which I have ordered to be booked to you by Friday’s waggon from the Castle in Wood Street. You will find in it a parcel of old ragged school-books, the relics of my little seminary, of little value in themselves, but they may be of use to Wilson, and save you some money. To fill up the box I have thrown in two or three other things—8 or 10 of my latest newspapers, the last but one of my sermons that remained undisposed of (as my brother informs me you have lost the two that I sent by him), and I have filled up the box with a few flowers roots and seeds that were unknown at Halton Gill when I was an inhabitant there. I intended to have seen the roots taken up myself, but the arrival of a message from Lord Barrymore obliged me to leave it to the gardener. I have also sent Lord Barrymore’s letter that you may see how merrily we live. I have excused myself from waiting on his Lordship, as I shall be in residence at Windsor; but Mrs. W. has sent for tickets for the first and last nights to accompany Giffin, Nancy, and Gloucester.

‘Wargrave is about 6 miles from Binfield, in the way to Henley, where his Lordship has built a Play House. I told the gardener what things I meant to send, but I find, as I feared, that he has not done as I directed him; he has omitted some of the things that I named to him, and sent others that are very common with you. I unfortunately left it till the Higler’s cart



was ready to set out, that the roots might be as little out of the ground as possible, and by that means the business has been very ill-conducted. The list he has given me is as follows :

## SEEDS.

Larkspur, 3 sorts.  
Carnation Poppy.  
Lobel's Catchfly.  
Annual Snapdragon.  
Sea holly.  
Ten Week Stocks.  
Candy Tuft.  
Scabious.  
Sweet Williams.

## ROOTS.

Mich. Daisy, 2 sorts.  
Golden Rod.  
Monarda, or Oswego Tea.  
Phlox alba.  
Veronica.  
Pale French Honeysuckle.  
Campanula.  
Catesby's Catchfly.  
White Lilly.  
Orange do.  
Peonys.  
Pinks.

'We purpose going to the Audit at Gloucester on Tuesday next and returning to London for a day or two the beginning of December. We have been much pressed by the Dowager Lady Chatham to go to Burton Pynsent, but the badness of the weather and the season of the year, as we both are very susceptible of cold, has induced us to put it off till next summer.

'The first of January I go into residence at Windsor, and the first of February at Gloucester, so that, excepting about a fortnight or three weeks the latter end of December, we shall now see little of Binfield till the beginning of April. Selina is so attached to Binfield she does not like moving from it at all, especially in winter-time; but as that is the time when Binfield is

dressed in its worst clothes, and as my preaching spirits are always best in cold weather, I shall always wish to leave it at the same time; and as I am now senior . . . at Gloucester and nearly half-way up at Windsor, I think I shall scarce find any difficulty in getting what month I chuse. As I prefer going to Windsor on Sunday, I shall keep this letter till then in the hope of getting a Frank for it. If you wish to know where my house is in the plan of Windsor Castle, it is that with the little garden before it in the shape of a fortification; but if an opportunity offers I should chuse either the house that projects on the right hand or left hand of it, but rather the left, as more spacious of the two. I forgot to say that I have sent Will. Preston two pieces of the paper with which my house is covered, as my brother tells me he expressed some surprise at it. Selina joins in love and comp<sup>ts</sup> to yourself, Wilson, and all friends with your affect. brother,

‘E. WILSON.’

‘BINFIELD,

‘*July ye 12th, 1790.*

‘DEAR SISTER,

‘I accompanied Mr. Armitstead yesterday morning to Windsor, and assisted the Bishop of Carlisle (John Douglas) in ordaining him priest. I should have made a point of doing the same the Sunday before, when he was ordained deacon, but the indisposition of my Curate obliged me to stay at home to take my own duty. He returned to Oxford yesterday from Windsor, from whence he purposes, as indeed I have advised him, to return to Litton very shortly

unless any occasional duty should present itself that will repay the expense of staying in college. We have received no answer yet from Lord Lonsdale, but, considering the man and his present engagements in Elections, we do not wonder at it, particularly as he expects to see the Bishop of Carlisle soon in Cumberland, and probably he may wait for that. The Bishop intends to set off from Windsor sometime next week, and will reach his palace at Rose Castle in about ten days or a fortnight. From these circumstances you see we must expect to remain some weeks longer in darkness respecting the Chapel at Whitehaven. As the first idea of it was a proposal from Lord Lonsdale himself, I cannot allow myself to entertain a doubt of it ; but if it should fail the Bishop will take the very first opportunity in his power to provide for Mr. Armitstead, and on that assurance he has been so good as to ordain him both deacon and priest without a title. He is, therefore, now ready for any preferment that offers ; and the Bishop has also further had the goodness to write to Lord Lonsdale and say that he has had the opportunity of seeing the young man both at Windsor and Binfield, and that in person, address, and understanding he fully answers the character I had given of him. Indeed, Armitstead has had the good fortune to obtain the good opinion of us all. We have had his company a whole week, and both in private and in public he has comported himself in a way that has given us great pleasure and set him very high in our esteem. I have great hopes of his doing extremely well in life, and I am happy in the opportunity I have had of giving him this first introduction into the world,

as it is in all its parts both creditable and honourable. He was ordained in our magnificent chapel, received the Sacrament afterwards in the King's private chapel, slept at the Deanery within the Castle of Windsor, had repeated opportunities of seeing the whole Royal Family both at Chapel and on the Terrace, and of associating with very distinguished characters in an easy, familiar way. As you have been very desirous that I should do something for Mr. Armitstead, I thought it would be a pleasure to you to know all the above particulars; and for everything respecting us, as you will see him very soon, I refer you to him, as he has now a tolerable knowledge of both Binfield and Windsor, and our associates in both. . . . With all good wishes and regards to yourself, Wilson, Molly Holmes, and Ann, and all friends.

‘Your faithful and affect. brother,

‘E. W.

‘P.S.—I am at present quite unhorsed. I have sold one this week that was quite a beauty to look at, but he was not sure-footed enough for me to ride him with any comfort, so I was glad to get rid of him. I have desired Mr. Armitstead to look out for one in the North.’

We can imagine with what eagerness all these details about Windsor and the ordination would be read by Mr. Armitstead's friends in Littondale, and as we read in the letter how the ordination was hastily conducted in the Royal Chapel by a Bishop who was not in his own diocese, and the two orders of deacon



and priest were conferred upon Mr. A. in a single week, contrary to the rubric, and that without a title, we are impressed by the fact, as we think of the careful ordinations and the severe preparation required in the present day, that a great change has passed over the Church in this respect, for the better, since the eighteenth century.

‘BINFIELD,

‘*October ye 19th, 1791.*

‘DEAR SISTER,

‘I have just now sent off a basket of flower roots and seeds directed to you as follows: For Mrs. Knowles, at Halton Gill, near Settle, Yorkshire, from the Castle, Wood St., London, October the 20th, 1791. I have given a charge that it be booked at the Castle tomorrow, and it will, of course, come off on Friday, not knowing whether the coach to Settle comes off from the Inn. I have not directed by what carriage it is to come, but whether it be by coach or waggon, it is packed so carefully I have no doubt the roots will all come safe and without any detriment to their growth. I have not sent anything that requires a hot-bed or greenhouse, as they would be useless to you, but I think I have sent you everything else that my garden affords, excepting some things that I am sure you have, or that I sent before. I have also sent along with them a Gardener’s Calendar that I think may be useful to you in directing you how to manage them. I have sent you such Tulip roots as I have, but I have none of higher price than about 5 or 6 shillings per hundred, having no taste for beds of flowers by themselves, but only intermixed with flowering shrubs and trees; for the

same reason I do not excel in Anemonies or Ranunculuses, as they are not well suited to such borders as mine. I have, therefore, sent you all I have, such as they are; they cost me at the rate of a guinea a hundred; I believe they are almost all Ranunculuses, but as they were taken up together I have not attempted to separate them. The large roots mixed with the Tulips are a dozen Crown Imperials. I have written all the tickets myself for the roots, but now I recollect I made one mistake—viz., the Mich. or Winter Cherry, Capsicum; instead of Capsicum I should have written Physalis. The name of the smaller seeds I have left to the gardener, and have no doubt many of them are wrong spelt, but I think you will be able to make them out. The little paper of Larkspur seed was given me this morning by Mrs. Elliott's gardener, for whose marriage the bells are ringing very merrily. He says they are very curious sorts, and you will consider them of superior value when I tell you that they are all that I have got by the wedding. Selina on seeing the number of tickets says, Where will you put them? I think they will fill your whole garden, and require pretty good management in the disposal of them. I lament that there is no Sweet Sultan seed, as that is, in my opinion, the most beautiful flower in the garden, but the gardener has saved no seed of it. If I can get any of it in the country I will endeavour to send it in a frank, tho' franks are at present rather scarce amongst us, as we have in a great measure lost Bishop Douglas, and our new Dean, Bishop Cornwallis, is not yet come amongst us, and we do not find that he intends to be much at

Windsor. The female Peony that I have sent you is not so beautiful in its flower as in its fruit; at this very time it is the most beautiful thing in the garden. I have just sent a whole plant of it, carefully packed up in a box, to little Miss Eliot at Burton Pynsent, as I find it is not known in that county; the pods open about this season of the year, and display a charming show of black and red seeds. I had a letter from my brother about a fortnight ago from Colney, Gibson's new living, near Norwich. Gibson was to return with him in about ten days' time to Soham, so I suppose they are both there by this time. They are the most constant couple I ever knew. They are scarce ever apart all the year round. I therefore generally address my letter to both of them—it is brother Gibson and brother Wilson—and they frequently (that is, when they write, but that is seldom) both write to me on the same sheet of paper. . . .

‘P.S.—The gold and silver fishes in my garden bason are almost famished for want of water, but we have had some plentiful showers to-day, and the air looks as if we should have a good deal of rain. Our travellers returned about ten days ago. Giffin came from Ostend to Dover, and then Post to London and to Abingdon to attend the Quarter Sessions, where there was nothing to do, and from thence to Binfield—viz., from Sunday morning, three o'clock, to Tuesday night at ten—without going to bed. But they are all very well, and much pleased with their excursion.’

Horticulturists will be sorry to hear that none of the



plants and bulbs which were sent from Binfield have survived the rigours of more than a hundred Craven winters.

‘LONDON,  
‘*May ye 31st, 1796.*

‘DEAR SISTER,

‘Your letter has found me here. If it had arrived a few days sooner it wou’d have found my brother with us. It is full two years since Selina and I saw him last, but we both have the pleasure of thinking that he looks very well, and we are glad to find that he talks of being with you in June. If wish could effect it we shou’d be of the party; but I am too feeble and too frequently ill to attempt so long a journey, and, besides, the great expense of fitting out Glocester, etc., etc., have cut short many excursions that are more within my reach. We have had a very pleasant trip to Burton Pynsent, and had the pleasure of finding Lady Chatham better than usual; but I was repeatedly very poorly both there and on the road, tho’ we had neither mountains nor any other inconvenience to encounter. I am sorry that you did not remember Tom Hill. I surely told you that I never meant to fail him, tho’ I did not wish him to reckon on it. I have paid my brother up to the first of May £28 7s. 0d. as usual—viz., Twenty guineas for you, six for A—H—, and one for Tom which I hope will not come too late for him. I think you have done right to take A—H—home to you, as it will be better for both than moping alone, and especially for you on W—going to Kendall, which, as I hear from my brother, is the plan now in agitation for



him. It is certainly full time that something should be determined on his walk in life, otherwise he will be lost to himself and all his connections. We have had several letters from Gloucester in the course of the last fortnight, from which we have the satisfaction of learning that he arrived at Barbadoes on Easter Monday, which was a holiday to the Blacks, and he had the pleasure of seeing them dressed out in all their finery, singing and dancing and showing every mark of hilarity without liquor, without expence, and without disputing and quarrelling, which he cou'd not have thought possible if he had not been witness of it. The troops that had got there seven weeks before him were in as good health as they cou'd have been in Europe, and out of 190 dying men that were in one of their ships they all recovered on being put ashore except two. He had a very prosperous voyage, and found the heat far more tolerable than he expected. His last letter expresses great impatience at being detained there—viz., a fortnight—for want of an Admiral to appoint a convoy, as he by that delay has broken into another quarter, and is very desirous of knowing particularly the nature and value of his appointment, and of being in the receipt of something that he can call his own. We hope to learn by the next Pacquet that he is arrived in Jamaica, as it is not a week's sail from Barbadoes. Your account of Preston's death is very curious. My brother had informed me of his anxiety to see his coffin, but not of his making it himself. I am glad that your apple-tree is alive; when it is old enough to bear fruit I think you will be pleased with it. The plant that looks like Balm is, I suppose, Monarda or Oswego Tea. The leaf is

broader than the Balm leaf, has a strong perfumed smell, and bears a red flower. . . . Lincoln's Inn Fields, which is the largest square in London, and to the right commands a most beautiful view of Lincoln's Inn Gardens, which are separated from the Fields, or, rather, Square, only by a wall. So that the house stands as open and airy and as little exposed to fire as any in London. . . .'

' WINDSOR,

' *January ye 11th, 1797.*

' DEAR SISTER,

' We came into residence here on the last day of the old year ; indeed, my residence commenced on the 23rd of December, but as many Binfield parochial matters require my personal attendance there at Christmas, partly respecting the Poor and partly respecting myself, I always endeavour to get somebody to exchange with me the last week or ten days. This year I was obliged to come and do my own duty here on Christmas Day, and I think it was the very coldest day I ever experienced. We got up at half-past five, for Mrs. Wilson came over with me. The ground was covered with snow, and as it had fallen two days before, the drifts had been cut away so as to make a road for the Coach, so that we got to Windsor by nine ; but both our men were so pinched with the severity of the weather as to be fearful that they must give it up, and I find the Thermometer was many degrees lower than ever it was known to be in this country. Nevertheless, we went home to dinner, and Giffin and Nancy came and met us here from London in an open chaise, and went to

Binfield with us. Last Sunday Lord and Lady Chatham were on a visit here with the King and Queen, and as My Lord has been to call upon us this morning, it has given me the opportunity of procuring a frank for you. We have thought it a very long time since we heard from you, and as I have had as much to do in the writing way as my eyes are capable of managing, Mrs. Wilson has long intended to write to you; but the same failure of eyes, or perhaps a greater, and the waiting to procure a frank has induced her to postpone it till now, and at present her eyes are so tired out that I take up my pen instead of her. The seeing Lord Chatham at Windsor Chapel on Sunday was quite a surprise to me, and the King good-humouredly said—in the Chapter room where we always receive the Royal Family—to his lordship that he wou'd now have the opportunity of hearing a lesson from his old Tutor that he supposed he might not have done for many years. This was a pleasantry highly gratifying for me to hear, and this is not the only one with which we have been entertained within these few days. On Friday last, Lord Chesterfield, one of the Post Masters General, told one of my brother Canons that he considered Gloucester as one of the most promising young men in their department, that his letters from Jamaica . . . upon them every Packet, that they wanted very much an able and vigilant young man in that quarter to root out a nest of hornets, and that Gloucester was doing it most effectually, and that his talents appeared in so very superior a light in his correspondence with them as to strike more forcibly every letter he wrote. This report was so grateful to us both I have every day since we heard it felt so much



obligation to his Lordship as to determine to take the first opportunity to pay my respects to his Lordship, who has a house within a few miles of this place, and thank him for his openness and candour in saying all this of my son; but I have been every day and all day since I came here so engaged in Chapter as to have had no time for it except between the services on Sunday, which we devoted to Lord and Lady Chatham, and then we heard what makes me still more anxious to do it, viz., that Lord Chesterfield was of the party with the King and Queen the Evening before, and that he had there resumed the same subject and repeated all his praises of Gloucester to the Royal Family and their Visitors in the hearing of Lord and Lady Chatham. But enough of this subject. I now proceed to tell you that we were above three months without hearing at all from Gloucester, viz., all September, October, November. We find the cause of it was that one Packet was taken by the French and carried into America. This has made a sad gap in our correspondence, as he refers in his last letter, which consists of five sheets of paper, to many things in a former letter, which is wholly lost; but we are comforted with his writing apparently in good health and spirits, tho' he tells us he has been six months there without seeing any money of his own. The inland Post Masters are so dilatory in their payments to him, and his Clerks have been so long masters, that he believes he must turn them all off and get a new set before he shall be able to do justice either to his office or himself. Nevertheless, he has seen enough of his place to inform us that it is not of less value than it was reported to be, and that he hopes he may in



time leave it in the hands of a Deputy and return to us again. My eyes are so tired I must lay by my pen for a time, but I will leave my letter open in the hope of resuming it again before the Post goes out. I resume my pen again to tell you that Mrs. Jennings, my tenant at Gloucester, has been confined to her bed with water on the brain. As she lies in bed she is tolerably easy, and even cheerful when all is quiet about her, but can bear no noise, and if she attempts to raise her head she is in agonies of pain. As she is near 70 it is supposed she cannot recover; but as she is not in a situation to be removed, I am obliged to give up my residence this year at Gloucester and forfeit ten shillings (per day). . . .'

In the following letter Canon Wilson informs his sister at Halton Gill of the death of his brother, the Rev. Thomas Wilson, who graduated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, 10th Wrangler, B.A. 1766, M.A. 1769, and who was equally fortunate in obtaining preferment. He held the three livings of Soham, Whaddon, and Gedney (present value about £2,600 per annum) in addition to his fellowship. In one of his letters to his sister he says: 'You must drink the health of King George in a bumper, for he has just given me the Living of Gedney, which I may hold with Whaddon and Soham.' These were the days of pluralism. In the picture of the Canon and his brother, which by the kindness of Mr. Martin Knowles, of Long Preston, stands at the beginning of this memoir, the Canon is in a sitting posture and his brother standing by his side.

‘ WINDSOR,

‘ *February 19th, 1797.*

‘ MY DEAREST SISTER,

‘ The colour of my seal will have already apprised you that the melancholy event which my last was intended to prepare you for has actually taken place. Before I set out for London, as I was then about to do immediately, I received another letter from Giffin to inform me all was over ; indeed, it was over when he wrote his first, but he was unwilling to tell me so abruptly. The gout had flown to his stomach, and carried him off almost instantaneously above nine days before Giffin knew it. In consequence of a letter found in his pocket Gibson had been written to immediately, but he was not at home till several days after the arrival of that letter, from which it happened, tho’ he died the 30th of January, he was not buried till the 11th of this month. As soon as I knew it I sent to desire he might be buried at Binfield, but . . . it was absolutely necessary it shou’d be buried immediately, Gibson and Giffin took upon them the task of giving directions about it. The corpse was conveyed to the nearest chapel in a Hearse, and they two accompanied it in a mourning coach. This has been a most unexpected and affecting stroke to us all, and we know that it will not be less so to you. The addition of more years might have enabled him to be looked up as a rich uncle, for his income this last year was above £1,300 ; but his best days were evidently over, and he has lately appeared to us all to be breaking up very fast, and now I understand from Gibson that his expenses have been greater than his income. He has died without a will,

and therefore it falls upon me to administer to his effects and discharge his household at Soham ; but having been confined for a fortnight by a severe cold, Giffin has undertaken to go to Soham for me. I wou'd gladly have persuaded Gibson to come hither for a few days, and then go to Soham with me, that, as he knew my brother's affairs more minutely than anybody, and all his wishes about his servants and neighbours, I might have the assistance of his council and advice ; but I have not been able to prevail : he is quite broken-hearted, and says he must go into Norfolk to recruit, but promises to come and see us all when he can bring his mind to see London again. As my brother has not been in the habit of communicating any of his affairs to me, I am an utter stranger to the times or manner in which he has been accustomed to furnish you with money ; but as that office now devolves upon me, I beg that you will immediately write and tell me all about it, that I may have the satisfaction of knowing that you are not unprovided. My next great anxiety is to see W— placed in some promising way of procuring a comfortable livelihood in which he may be happy in himself and a credit to his connections. I have no doubt I cou'd manage this in a way as honourable to himself and all his relations as if he had been born in a much more elevated situation, and it is now full time that something shou'd be done for him ; but on this subject it is highly desirable that you and I shou'd have some personal communication. It is a matter that cannot well be managed by letter. I therefore hope to find leisure, and muster up health enough, some time in the summer to come and see you and settle this matter,



which now on W—'s account grows very pressing, as all the happiness of his life depends upon it. It also grows very pressing on account of the increasing infirmities and years of both you and me, and the opportunities that I might probably avail myself of are opportunities of the present time only. I shall only add that Mrs. W. joins in all good wishes and regards to you both with your ever affect. brother,

‘E. W.’

‘BINFIELD,

‘*July ye 27th, 1800.*

‘DEAR SISTER,

‘As I hope to-morrow or the next day to procure a frank, I have taken up my pen to prepare for it, and to ask you how you do? It is now a long time since we heard from you, and the summer is flying away apace. Our neighbourhood has been extremely gay for the last six weeks. We have had above 20,000 men encamped within a few miles of us, and some of their reviews have been within reach of my glass without going out of doors. At the farthest extremity from us My Lord Chatham commands a brigade of Infantry. We returned from him yesterday evening through the thickest part of the Encampment at a time when several regiments were all drawn out on parade. The evening was enchantingly fine, the music of the several bands most charming, and the whole drive as delightful a sight of military splendour as you can conceive. I wish you and Wilson had been with us to see it; as it was, we were quite alone, for Giffin and his wife are not yet come into the country, neither will they till about



the 5th of August. They are at this time on an excursion by water at Margate perhaps, or Ramsgate, with a party of Gloucester's friends in the Custom house yacht. They set sail on Thursday last, and purpose being in London again on Tuesday morning. They have had most extraordinary fine weather for the purpose; indeed, it has been with us 6 or 7 weeks of the finest weather that was ever seen. I have got in all my hay, 53 acres, without a drop of rain, but I had the smallest crop I ever had in my life; upon the cold clay land, where the water had lain so long, the grass did not grow at all, it was scarce worth mowing. Many of my neighbours were in such a hurry to make the most of the fine weather they have been obliged to cut their ricks to pieces again to prevent their firing. You must have had, I think, a most excellent turf time, and got in enough, I hope, for 2 or 3 years' consumption. I should rejoice to have a 100 loads of them. I am now laying in my coals at £2 17s. 0d. a chaldron, exclusive of carriage from the water-side, which is at least 12s. more. This is higher than I have ever known them at this time of the year, but I hope the times are beginning to mend. A farmer at Reading market yesterday sold a load of wheat (*i.e.*, 40 bushels) for £30 5s. 0d. which he refused 40 guineas for the Saturday before. The price of corn has now fallen very considerably every week for 3 or 4 weeks past. Butchers' meat is also lower, but we must not expect much alteration here while our camp continues. We expect to lose a part of it this week, as the King goes to Weymouth on Wednesday night, and they are to attend him there; but we have reason to think that

the largest part of them will continue here some weeks longer. The nearest regiment is about 3 miles from us, the most distant 9, extending in length nearly 7 miles, and in breadth about 2. They have been most fortunate in weather; nevertheless, from heat and violent exercise many of them have suffered from illness. I went one day to see a battle, but choosing to have my breakfast first, the engagement was not only begun, but one party was put to flight and driven to a distance of seven miles before I got to the ground. I heard the cannonading at a distance, and now and then saw part of them, and clouds of smoke from an eminence on which I stood waiting three hours in expectation of their return, but all to no purpose. The way to see it effectually would have been to gallop on horseback all day near to the King; but for this I am not young enough, though a year younger than him, and full as light. He bears it better than all his subjects; is at it every day and all day, and is never tired. There is to be a grand day to-morrow, on Tuesday he goes to town to prorogue Parliament, on Wednesday he is to have another grand day at the camp, and set off immediately to travel all night to Weymouth. To see these daily shows hundreds of people in all sorts of carriages, on horseback, and on foot pass by this house every day, and equal numbers in all directions. But I have got to the end of my paper, and, therefore, shall only add that Mrs. Wilson joins in love to Wilson and yourself, with, dear sister, your affectionate brother,

‘E. W.’

‘BINFIELD,

‘*December ye 8th, 1800.*

‘DEAR SISTER,

‘Your letter met me in London at my return from the audit at Gloucester, where I had left Mrs. W. to be Giffin’s housekeeper for two or three weeks. We were all very sorry for W——’s disappointment in an object that both you and he seemed to have set your hearts upon, and I shou’d have written to say so from London; but I had really no time, being oblig’d to return to Windsor on Saturday, and hither yesterday, and having the intermediate time wholly occupied by indispensable business. As I purpose going to Maidenhead Sessions this morning, I write this previously in the hope of meeting somebody there to frank it, otherwise I shall have no chance of any such thing till the first of next month, when I go into residence at Windsor, and expect to meet a Bishop or two. The intermediate time here I shall be confined within my own parish preparing for an absence of three months as usual, tho’ probably I shall not reside at Gloucester in February and March as I have done for many years past, as our new Dean has undertaken the care of my duty, and Giffin and his mother are very desirous of our spending those months in London. We all perfectly approve of W——’s forbearance in not engaging in anything that is evidently too dear, and as that line of life is so much his wish we hope something more promising will soon present itself. We do not at all lament his not being a shopkeeper, as that is a business extremely hazardous, and what we think him very unfit for. In the meantime I hope he will diligently exercise



himself in trying to write a good hand and making himself expert in all sorts of arithmetick, as those are qualifications that will be sure to turn to his account in every situation of life. There can be no doubt of your right to demand five per cent. for your mortgage, but it may be attended with expence and trouble not suited to your situation. I shall be very glad to learn that you have sold it. The funds will pay you very nearly five per cent. at the present price, and you may have the money again any day when you choose to sell it out at an hour's notice. We have the comfort of thinking that we have left Giffin better reconciled to his loss, and also Gloucester in better health and spirits than he has been for some years. We expect to see them both about Christmas, either here or at Windsor, tho' they will probably not be able to be with us at the same time. . . .

'P.S.—I do not perceive that there is any chance of our having either bread or flesh meat much cheaper for several months to come, but I flatter myself now we are in no danger of a famine, as there was reason to fear a few weeks ago; by economy and substitutes I now think we shall get safely thro' the winter. I have just bought fourteen hundredweight of Rice for this parish, which the Overseers will be able to sell at  $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pound.'

'WINDSOR,

'*January ye 25th, 1802.*

'DEAR SISTER,

'After a second very trying autumn, that deprived me of all powers of exertion both in mind and body, I have been for 6 or 8 weeks tolerably well, and



have gone through the greatest part of my residence here better than I expected to do, for the last 3 or 4 days and nights I have been in an agony of pain with my feet, particularly my great toes, which I am inclined to believe is the gout, and Mrs. Wilson wishes me joy of it as likely to remove my other complaints and give me firmer health. I can scarce hobble to Chapel, tho' it is nearly under the same roof, tho' whatever it is it appears to be going off. The pain is considerably abated, and my feet are not quite so tender as they have been. Mrs. Wilson is in better health than she has been at this season for two or three years past, and we purpose going from here to London in about 10 days to spend a couple of nights again with Giffin while he continues single; he says he has no use for a house but to receive his mother and me, as his Chambers would answer his own purpose equally well, and at a much cheaper rate. On the adoption of this plan I have for this year again given up the idea of keeping Residence at Gloucester, and the Dean there has been so good as to undertake the superintending the Church for my two months. Giffin passed a few days here about a week ago, and is in better health and spirits than we ever knew him. We have not seen Gloucester at all. His time has been wholly taken up at the Board of Customs in attending for others who attended for him in the summer, while he was at Bath and Bristol. He might have come to us here for a couple of nights, but as he is so soon to see us in London, and as he does not move about with the same alertness as Giffin does, he did not attempt to come to Windsor. I have the pleasure to assure you that the King was never better in health in

his life. He staid in London a whole week about the Queen's Birthday, but was down here on Friday morning by eleven o'clock, and went out on horseback afterwards. I was contriving all the middle of the week how to be carried into the Pulpit, as I was apprehensive I should neither be able to walk or stand in the presence of His Majesty, but I am to-day so much better as to have got thro' it better than I expected. I had a conversation with the Queen about the cow-pox. She observed that "it was not in fashion when I might have used it on my children," and I had the honour of telling her that the Gloucester gentlemen had entered into a large subscription, many of them of five guineas each, throughout the whole county for a piece of plate to be presented to Dr. Jenner, who has the credit of being the inventor of it, tho', in fact, he is only the reviver of it. Mrs. Wilson joins, &c.'

'BINFIELD,

'*July ye 24th, 1802.*

'DEAR SISTER,

'I wrote more than half a letter a month ago with the expectation of finishing and franking it at Windsor, but as the Parliament was that day dissolved it did not succeed, so I burnt it. In the hope of finding the Bishop of Norwich at Windsor to-morrow I have now taken up my pen again, and have to tell you that your letter followed me to Town to attend the King's birthday, and when that was over Gloucester had prepared for us an excursion on the water in the Custom House yacht. The weather was not very favourable when we set out, but it improved every

hour ; and when we got to the mouth of the river, the wind being fair for us to go to France, we immediately determined to go to Calais ; we arrived then to tea . . . (illegible). We were much gratified with our entertainment, tho' not sorry to set sail again for England, for their butchers' meat and poultry were almost carrion, and their bread so bad as to be worse than ours two years ago, and a file of soldiers with drawn swords attending the sale of it to prevent the people seizing more than their share, tho' the price is very dear. We were detained twelve hours longer than we intended by their demanding 20 guineas to permit our vessel to sail again, and we were at last obliged to give . . . for it, if their Government should persist in it. The whole place seemed to be very poor and wretched, tho' our entertainment, except the badness of the bread, was extraordinary good, and not so dear as at home. We slept one night at Calais and four nights on board. Our company were Mrs. Wilson and two young ladies, Giffin and Gloucester, and myself. . . .'

The letters cease at this date.

Canon Wilson was the author of a few little works. In the year 1773 he published 'Three Letters to the Tithe Association at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand.' By a Country Parson. London, 8vo. The first letter contains an examination of the several charges that have been brought against tithe. The second letter gives a short account of 'The Right of Tithes and of the History of Tithes, and a Comparison between the Levitical and Evangelical Priesthood with regard to their Services and Revenue.' In this letter



the Canon traces tithes and offerings from the very earliest times, showing that even in heathen nations a provision of this kind was made for the teachers of religion, and not omitting in the Old Testament the practice of Abraham, and the requirements of the Mosaic Law, in this matter.

In the New Testament account (Acts xi.) of the forming of a 'common fund' he finds the beginning of the system, and in the weekly collections (1 Cor. xvi.) ordered by St. Paul. He says, that for the first 200 years, ministers, and the poor in the Christian Church, subsisted out of a common fund.

Early in the third century the Roman Emperors looked upon the wealth of the Church with envious eyes, and St. Lawrence, the deacon, was seized and put to death in order that the common fund of the Church might be utilized for State purposes. In the year 370 the Emperors tried to put a stop to the liberality of laymen who offered gifts to the Church.

Turning to England, he says that Ethelwolf (A.D. 855), the first hereditary monarch of England, made a law by which he gave to the Church the tithe of all his kingdom. But this statement about King Ethelwolf has been proved since Canon Wilson's time to rest on a misconception (as learned men are now agreed) of a document not really relating to tithe (*cf.* Selborne's 'Defence of the Church of England,' p. 131). The celebrated historian, Professor Freeman, puts the matter more correctly when he says: 'The nearest approach to a regular general endowment is the tithe, and this is not a very near approach. The tithe can hardly be said to have been granted by the State. The



state of the case rather is that the Church preached the payment of tithe as a duty, and that the State gradually came to enforce that duty by legal sanctions' (*cf.* Freeman's 'Disestablishment and Disendowment,' p. 19, 1885).

The third letter contains 'Observations on the Proposals of the Association, and a Demonstration that the Present Institution is susceptible of more Advantages than any other that the Society at the Crown and Anchor can reasonably expect to devise.' He then criticises the various proposals made by the Association, and he tries to show that the mode of collecting the tithe then in use was the best for that time. Speaking of a *modus per acre* in corn which had been proposed, he says: 'What grain could be chosen for the purpose? Oats and barley were the bread corn of our ancestors; now they are no longer eaten except by Horses and Hogs.' He must have forgotten that oatmeal cake was generally eaten at that time in Craven. 'Wheat has borne the nearest proportion to the general price of provisions in our days, and it is in our days almost the whole bread corn of these Kingdoms; but who can undertake to say what changes another century may introduce? Perhaps by that time it may be thought fit only for the Distiller and Starchmaker. In Gerrard's "History of Plants" (p. 780) we find that potatoes, not 200 years ago, were thought unequal to the severity of our climate. They were at that time considered as an article within the confectioner's province. They were infused in wine and eat with prunes; now they are a material part of the diet of the poor, and not, indeed, banished yet from the kitchens of the rich, yet their

credit will probably be of short continuance, and they may be succeeded by other fruits as much out of our knowledge as potatoes were out of the knowledge of our ancestors.' The writer's forecast has not yet come true, but it is interesting to have this glimpse into the early history of this vegetable.

In the year 1789 King George III. suffered from one of those mental attacks which ultimately deprived him of his reason. But in the spring of that year he recovered. A day of thanksgiving was appointed to be observed in the Churches, and on March 8 Canon Wilson preached a sermon in Gloucester Cathedral on His Majesty's recovery, which was printed by request. In the preface the Canon thus apologizes for its appearance: 'This publication is not with the smallest view of any personal advantage to the author. Having his ambition fully gratified by his long and distinguished connection with the late Earl of Chatham and the supreme honour of having been Preceptor to the present First Lords of the Treasury and Admiralty, and having through their friendship early obtained that provision which gratified all his wants, and that preferment which is the completion of all his wishes, he has no interested motives to prompt him, no selfish object to pursue, neither is it a measure very consonant to his feelings to obtrude a sermon of his upon the public; but at the pressing entreaty of many respectable auditors he has been induced to commit this to the press.' The text was taken from Prov. xxix. 2: 'When the righteous are in authority the people rejoice.' After enlarging on the advantage of a just and wise and moderate Government and a righteous ruler, he says: 'The late unhappy

calamity which suspended for a time the exercise of royal authority seems to have taught us sufficiently, if we wanted the lesson, that our gracious Sovereign reigns not only over the persons, but in the hearts of his subjects. Rouz'd into a quick sense of the dangers that threaten'd us, and animated with a lively recollection of the happiness we enjoy'd, we were justly alarmed at the precipice on which we stood. No eloquence of tongue, no brilliancy of talents, no measure of integrity, no union of interest in the characters we had to look to, cou'd contribute in any satisfactory degree to diminish the dread or lighten the affliction that overspread this island. While his health remained perfect, tho' we enjoy'd all the benefits of his Sovereignty, we might not properly estimate their value or consider the Source from whence they are derived. Though our happiness and peace were equally secure, and our joys and comforts flowing in full channel, all might not be sufficiently grateful to the Dispenser of these favours, nor duly sensible of our obligation to Heaven for such distinguished blessings.'

The year 1795 was a time of great scarcity, and consequently of great distress throughout the country, chiefly on account of some adverse seasons in the agricultural parts of the land. And Canon Wilson, as a magistrate for the County of Berks, frequently rode into Reading and sat on the Bench, and in this way he was fully aware of the poverty which was then prevalent amongst the working classes. To call attention to the distressed state of the country he wrote a small pamphlet entitled 'Observations on the Present State of the Poor and Measures proposed for its



Improvement.' This little work, which was afterwards printed at Reading in 1795, was first read to the Magistrates of Berks, and in the minutes of the Meeting of Quarter Sessions at Abingdon on October 6, 1795, the following entry was made :

'Ordered, on reading the "Observations on the Present State of the Poor, &c.," addressed by the Rev. Mr. Wilson to the Magistrates of Berks, that the thanks of this Court be conveyed to Mr. Wilson for these "Observations, &c.," and his consent requested to have the same printed.

'W. BUDD,

*' Clerk of the Peace.'*

When we hear so much now about the forlorn condition of the country districts, their depopulation, and the need of fresh legislation to make the villages more attractive, it is interesting to hear from Canon Wilson's 'Observations' what was the condition of affairs in the rural districts more than 100 years ago, and what were the measures proposed for their improvement. The writer begins by saying :

'The distress to which multitudes have been exposed by the late extraordinary high price of corn, and the insufficiency of the earnings of many poor families for the support of their necessary expenditure, have exerted on the public mind an anxious solicitude to administer to their relief. The chronicles of former ages present us with greater instances of scarcity and dearth, but they furnish us with few such examples of benevolence and charity as have been universally shown on this occasion.'



He traces the ill-condition of the labouring classes at that time to the following causes :

1. Public-houses, which, he says, were once useful resources to the wayfaring man in affording him quiet and convenient refreshment, but now they seduce the poor to desert work, and to intemperance.

2. Village shops. 'These,' he says, 'practise every artifice to get poor families into their power; they encourage by seductive credit the purchase of articles not immediately necessary, they impose extravagant prices on all items of common consumption, and hold out upon trust a supply for every present want that deadens the operations of thriftiness and frugality.' He suggests as an antidote a village shop under the management of the parish officers, for ready money only, and supported partly at the expense of the rates, and with only reasonable gains.

3. The exclusion of the peasantry from an interest in the soil. 'Every cottage should have land enough about it to supply the family with vegetables at least, if not to afford sustenance for a pig or cow, and to furnish the occupier and his children with occasional employment at intervals of leisure from their usual labour. In the 31st year of Queen Elizabeth a law was made for this very purpose, and it is a great misfortune for the community that it has not always been enforced.' It is satisfactory to find a Canon of Windsor so far in advance of his age, and we are reminded that the proposal of 'three acres and a cow' is not, as has been usually supposed, the invention of political agitators in the nineteenth century.

4. 'An unfortunate propensity in all ranks of people

to imitate the follies and fashions of their superiors. This unhappy bias draws multitudes away to the Metropolis and other places of resort, drains the villages of their opulent inhabitants, deprives the poor of the comfort, assistance, and support they might derive from their richer neighbours, and introduces habits of luxury and expense universally disproportionate to means, which greatly increase the number of the indigent, and contribute to their degeneracy and debasement.'

Again we seem to be reading the words of some critic reviewing the state of the country in these days of excitement and easy transit in the twentieth century. A writer had suggested, at this time, that the raising of wages would meet the difficulties of the crisis. To this the Canon replies that wages cannot be regulated by law. 'The price of labour must necessarily *precede* rather than *follow* the prices of the necessaries of life. And the annals of this country bear no small testimony to the truth of this maxim. Bread has in all ages constituted so large a portion of these necessaries, it has been generally assumed as a standard for the whole. Yet Smith in his "Wealth of Nations," shows that corn was dearest when labour was cheapest. The average price of wheat per quarter in the thirteenth century was 50s. 5d., in the fourteenth 35s. 8d., and in the fifteenth 18s. 2d., reckoning money at its present value. The price of labour in the same centuries was in the thirteenth, 3d., in the fourteenth, 4d., and in the fifteenth, 6d. per day. The price of corn was falling when the price of labour was rising. From 1595 to 1795 the average was 45s. 4d. The average of the century

ending 1694, was 48s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; the average of the century ending with 1794, was 46s. 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ d. But the price of labour increased  $\frac{1}{4}$  in the last 50 years, during which time the average was 9d. per day. Now (1795) it is more than 1s.'

Another remedy proposed was the establishing of Provident Parochial Banks, kept by the Vicar and Churchwardens and Overseers, supported by the parish rates, or subscriptions. They were to be open on Sundays. And for every 11d. deposited, 1d. would be added at midsummer. If the sum remained till the next midsummer it would receive interest at the rate of 3 per cent., and it would be invested in the public funds. These and other suggestions, which since that time have formed part of the organizations of so many parishes, show that Mr. Wilson was possessed of sound common-sense, and that he deeply sympathized with his poorer brethren in their distress. In an appendix he gives the cost of living at that period from some statistics collected by Mr. J. H. Davies between the years 1787-1795, when the price of a half-peck loaf ranged from 11d. to 1s. 4d: The weekly expenditure of a labouring man and his wife and one child was 5s. 8d.; with 2 children, 6s. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; with 7 children, 8s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., reckoning a loaf at 1s., and allowing a loaf and a half for a man, a loaf for a woman, and  $\frac{3}{4}$  for each child, and 2s. 6d. per week for household expenses, and for clothing 6d. per man, 4d. for a woman, and 2d. for a child (rent, fire, casualties are put down at 70s. per annum), and the weekly expenditure includes bread, flour, bacon, or meat, salt, tea, sugar, butter, cheese, beer, milk, potatoes, candles, soap, starch, blue, thread, thrum, worsted, yarn.



By the time he had reached sixty years of age Mr. Wilson had become rather corpulent, and he suffered from various ailments, but he was able to discharge his duties at Windsor and Binfield. During his latter years he found his recreation in the care of the garden at the latter place; but his journeys to Halton Gill to see his sister became less frequent, and about the beginning of the nineteenth century they ceased, as he was unable to bear the fatigues of a coach journey to Yorkshire, with a ride on horseback of ten miles over the hills from Settle. We can imagine how, when these visits became impossible from want of strength, Mr. Wilson's thoughts would turn to those early days which he had spent in that secluded spot, surrounded by the beauties of nature, amid his native hills. And what would make the place doubly dear to him was the fact that the old home was still a home; for his sister (Mrs. Knowles) lived on in the house where she and her brothers had been born, and which is now the property of Mr. Martin Knowles, and is occupied by Mr. W. Taylor. In the spring of the year 1804 his powers visibly failed, and, after a short illness, he died on August 23, and was buried at Binfield. The following inscription was placed in the north aisle of the church to his memory:

‘I.H.S. The Rev. Edward Wilson, Canon of Windsor, Prebendary of Gloucester, and nearly 40 years Rector of this Parish, ob<sup>t</sup> die Aug. 23, 1804, ætatis suæ 66. He was Chaplain to the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Chatham, and Tutor to his son the present Earl, Master-General of the Ordnance, and to Right Honour-



able William Pitt, first Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.'

Mrs. Wilson was a daughter of Thomas Giffin, Esq., formerly of Leadenhall Street, London. She died at Chelsea July 4, 1810, aged seventy-six.

She thus breaks the news of her husband's death to his sister at Halton Gill :

‘WINDSOR,

‘*August 30th, 1804.*

‘MY DEAR SISTER,

‘I feel most truly grieved that I must pain your heart by telling you what almost breaks mine. You will guess our loss by the Seal. Mr. Wilson, after several years declining health, was seized with an increase of fever on Monday, the 6th of August—the day we had been married 39 years—took to his bed, where he lay for a fortnight, and on the 23rd of August expired. Thro’ this whole sickness he possessed a firm unshaken mind, suffered little, was drowsy, lost his strength—tho’ he had tolerable good nights—and at last had apparently very few struggles. He seemed, as they tell me—for I cou’d not remain in the room—as if he was going to sleep! This was a comfort to us all; let it be so, my dear sister, to you. You will never otherwise feel this loss, for it is some years now that a journey to Halton Gill wou’d have been impossible for his strength, so that you never wou’d have seen him more. We must, you know, all go to him; he cannot come to us. Your annuity he has tied down to you by will. . . . And now that we have done with money matters, let me entreat you to support your

spirits as well as you can under this affliction. You have lost a brother. You shall find in me a sister who, tho' we cannot have for each other the same natural affection that you and your brother had, yet shall you find in me a true and sincere sister—one who will to the best of her power advise and assist both you and Wilson whenever I can be of use. And I do hope you will constantly write, as you used to do to Mr. Wilson, and tell me exactly how you both do, and how Wilson goes on. I hope he will be a comfort to you. I believe I must at present have done, for my nerves are in a sad state. Adieu, my dearest sister; your nephews desire their love and duty with your truly affectionate

‘S. WILSON.’

Again in October of the same year Mrs. Wilson writes :

‘MY DEAREST SISTER,

‘I fear you will think I have forgotten you. But, indeed, my hands as well as my heart have been full ever since I wrote last, and now in my confusion I have mislaid your letter among the thousand papers we have been assorting; but I think you ask'd where your dear brother was buried. It was in a slip of the church-yard here next his own garden. He objected to parade in a funeral, or he shou'd have been interr'd in S. George's Chapel, Windsor, where he had a right to lay; but there must have been much state go with it. I do assure you, what with fatigue and thinking of him night and day—for he is scarce ever out of my thoughts—I feel at times quite lost. I have no comfort but in

crying. The confusion I am in is occasioned by being obliged to remove from every house I have enjoyed with him for near 40 years; and I, who am almost as much devoted to the spots I have liv'd in as you, almost sink under the weight of so much pressure both of head and heart. I have nobody to help me. For tho' Giffin is down with me, and is very good in settling my accounts, men have no talent for packing, and moving, and planning, and thinking about what they call women's affairs. The worst is, I know not where to take up my abode. I can be at Giffin's till March, and no longer, and that, God knows, will soon be here—too soon, alas!—before I can be ready for it. So, having nowhere to put anything, I have been obliged to see my furniture at both houses sold for a song, whilst I in a few weeks must give double for what I shall like less, for what we have enjoyed together is more valuable to me than all the furniture in the King's Palace. I fear I do not write legibly. My eyes are dim with crying, and my head filled only with sorrow and fatigue. I desire my love to Wilson, and shall love him in proportion as he makes you happy. . . .'

In the postscript November 8, Mrs. Wilson relates the terrible misfortune which happened to her manservant during her removal to London.

'I have, my dear sister, had no means of sending this. I have been so taken up with packing, and contriving, and labour, and grief, that I did not leave the dear spot till last night. William, our coachman, who had lived with us near twelve years, I left with our horses and all my valuables to follow

us closely with the waggon. I was just broken-hearted to leave the dear spot and my dear Mr. Wilson behind me; and judge, then, my further distress to learn by an express this morning, that poor William had been run over by the waggon and killed, that he lay dead at a public-house, that my waggon was not at first found, that when it was, some of my valuables were flung into the pond, and spoil'd. Some say, the Horses will be seized by the Crown, and others, that the waggon and its contents will. I am sure I am almost distract'd about it altogether. Once more, Adieu. To-morrow, if I have not more bad accounts to half turn my brain, I will get a bank-post bill to send in this. Adieu, my dear Sister. What a world this is!

‘CASTLE INN, WINDSOR.’

In the year 1806 Mrs. Wilson writes from 2, Lindsey Row, Chelsea, on March 3:

‘I shou’d have written to you soon after I received your last letter, but I got an unlucky fall stepping out of a coach, and after being confined above three months, and under a surgeon’s hand, I am told I shall never more have the proper use of my right hand; indeed, it is very painful if I use it at all, for my elbow is divided at the joint, and I can scarcely write a few lines without feeling it at my heart. This has lowered my spirits very much, but I must make the best of it, and thank God it is no worse. . . . What times are coming God knows, but the loss of my right arm has hardly lower’d my spirits more than the death of Mr. Pitt has done. Mr. Wilson loved him so dearly.



The last words I heard him utter were his name. He was one of the greatest and most uncorruptible Ministers this country has ever known. He has died of a broken heart after twenty years' unremitting labours to check the progress of that scourge of human nature—Bona-parte. Providence, no doubt, for wise purposes, still upholds the miscreant, and as he only feared Lord Nelson and Mr. Pitt, and they are both removed out of his way, we shall see what he will do next. I dare say when you heard of Mr. Pitt's death you thought over old times. I am sure I have done nothing else since it has happened, and read over old letters, and cry'd over circumstances that can never now return again. Out of five pupils only Lord Chatham is left, and as he has no children the name threatens to be extinct.'

And thus we must bid our readers take leave of the first tutor of that famous statesman, whose influence was evidently as great in private circles as it was in the political world, and who, in spite of whatever faults he may have had, so won the affections of his first instructor that, as Mrs. Wilson tells us, he ended his useful life with his pupil's name upon his lips.

Mr. Wilson was very charitably disposed. Besides the help which he afforded to his relations, an old book of the Binfield Charities records 'that the Revd. Edward Wilson, Rector of this Parish, by his will dated 30th April, 1803, left the Reversion (after Mrs. Wilson's death) of £500 three per cent. reduced annuities, to be invested in the names of the Trustees of the Bowes and Batson's Charities, to be annually distributed with the dividends arising from those Charities.'

*Letter of Mr. Thomas Wilson to his Sister, Mrs. Jane Knowles, of Halton Gill.*

‘68, MARGARET ST., CAVENDISH SQ.,

‘Aug. ye 18th, 1795.

‘DEAR JINNEY,

‘I received your letter at Soham, and sent Mr. Dawson’s part of it to my brother, but I dare say he will not trouble Mr. Pitt about it. I am sorry you have lost so many shrubs. My plantations are in such a thriving state that I promised a neighbour in the country to stock a shrubbery for him about two days before I got your letter. I shall, however, have plenty left for you, and I will take care when the sap has gone down, which will be in 6 or 7 weeks’ time, to make up a parcel for you. I will also ticket them with proper directions where to plant them according to the different sizes they will grow to. You must loosen the earth about the roots, and water them well when you plant them, but not give them much water afterwards till they strike root. I have some very fine weeping ashes and weeping willows, but you have no place for them, they grow so large. You would hear of Mr. Morris’s death. About 6 weeks since I went to Whaddon, and as it was market-day at Cambridge I avoided the town and crossed the river about 2 miles above it. There was a crowd of people about the river, and upon riding up to them I found they had just drawn out two young gentlemen of Trinity College drowned in bathing and found locked in each other’s arms. I was extremely shocked to find one of them was the only child of my old friend Wilkinson, a very promising young man, and

much esteemed both at school and College. I have been to see Wilkinson this morning, and he and his wife remain inconsolable. Give my compliments to Mr. Lindley, and tell him I was much pleased with Wilson's exercise. My squire (Drage) is dead. He has left £70,000 to two of his nieces' sons, the eldest not two years old. £14,000 in cash were found in the house. I said nothing about coming down, but had very near put it into execution about two months ago. I had an offer of two Livings in Lincolnshire from the Bishop of Lincoln (by Mr. Pitts' means), and we hoped to make them tenable with Soham, but could not manage it. I meant after taking possession to have come on to you and Gibson to the Anglers' Inn. I am sorry to hear such a poor account of . . .

‘I am, your affectionate Br.,

‘THOMAS WILSON.

‘I shall return to Soham in a fortnight's time. I am glad the cheeses came safe.’

## WILLIAM PALEY

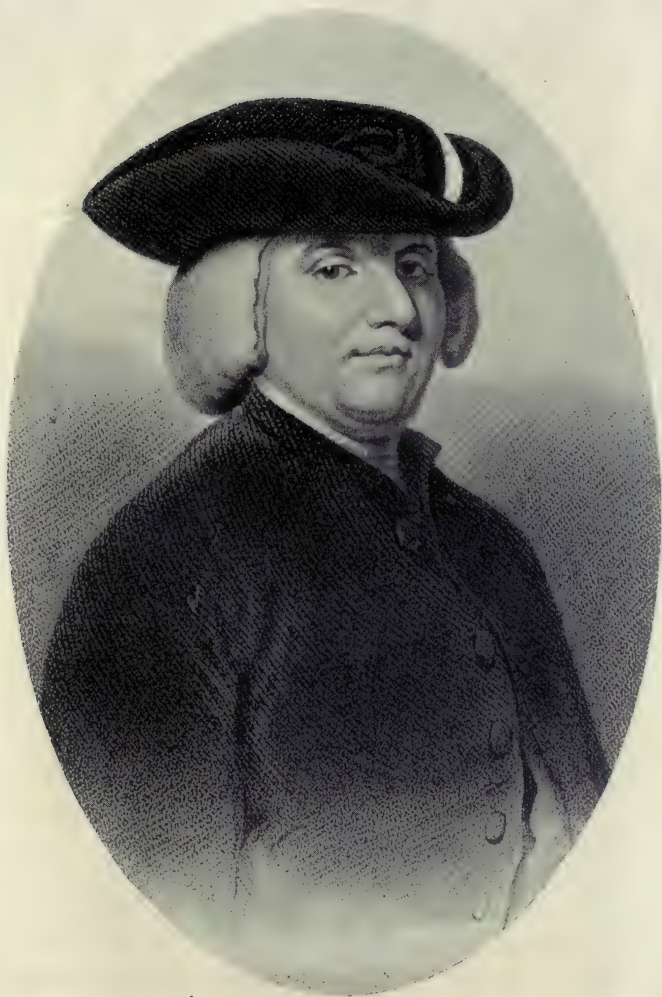
‘La prova che il ver mi dischiude  
Sou l’ opere seguite, a che nature  
Non scaldo ferro mai, ne batte incude.’  
Risposto fummi : “Di’, chi t’ assicura  
Che quell’ opere fosser? Quel medesimo  
Che vuol provarsi, non altri, il ti giura.”  
“Se il mondo si rivolse al Cristianesimo,”  
Diss’ io, senza miracoli, quest’ uno  
E’ tal, che gli altri non sono il centesimo.’

DANTE : *Paradiso*, c. xxiv.

“The works that follow’d evidence their truth”;  
I answered : “Nature did not make for these  
The iron hot, or on her anvil mould them.”  
“Who voucheth to thee of the works themselves,”  
Was the reply, “that they in very deed  
Are that they purport? None has sworn so to thee.”  
“That all the world,” said I, “should have been turn’d  
To Christian, and no miracle been wrought,  
Would in itself be such a miracle,  
The rest were not an hundredth part so great.”

It is no small achievement to have written a treatise which has maintained its position as an important text-book in the examinations of one of our ancient Universities for more than a century. The ‘Evidences of Christianity,’ the work of William Paley, is still read by all





WILLIAM PALEY, D.D.,  
ARCHDEACON OF CARLISLE.



students in the University of Cambridge who pass what is called the 'previous examination,' and William Paley may be justly claimed as a Craven man. He was born at Peterborough in the year 1743 (baptized in the Cathedral on August 30), where his father held a minor canonry, which he resigned when he returned to his native place on his appointment to the headmastership of Giggleswick School: his son William being at that time a year old. The Paleys were an old and very respectable yeoman family which had been settled at Langcliffe, in the parish of Giggleswick, for many generations, and one branch of the family still holds an estate at Langcliffe and the patronage of the church in that village. It is always interesting to know something of the antecedents of remarkable men, so we will here say a few words about the relations of Paley. He used to speak of one of his great uncles who kept a hardware stall on market days at Settle, and who, on being directed by a witty neighbour to make a common sewing needle in value less than one farthing, not only did so with great diligence and simplicity, but gravely charged half a crown for a very bungling piece of workmanship. And a kinsman of his who kept a little grocer's shop in the same town, and whom he took great delight in assisting to make, or perhaps to wrap up, tobacco, was held out to his own family as a model of perseverance and industry because he separated two pounds of black and white pepper which had accidentally been mixed, and went thirty-six times (as he used to calculate) into his shop for a farthing' (*cf.* E. Paley's 'Life of W. Paley').

The father of the subject of this memoir was born in

1710. He was educated at Giggleswick, and at Christ's College, Cambridge, and he held the headmastership of his school until his death in 1799. His grandson, E. Paley, says that he was liberal to profusion for his income, yet not only economical on a plan, but even scanty in his allowance to his family. He was a cheerful and jocose man, a great wit, an enlivening companion, in his days of activity fond of field sports, and more fond of company than was relished at home. In his neighbourhood he was esteemed a good and even popular preacher. He was twenty years curate of Giggleswick, and afterwards of Horton in Ribblesdale. He was also Vicar of Helpstone, near Peterborough, for sixty-four years. But his fame in the estimate of himself and others was built on his school. 'He was altogether a schoolmaster both by long habit and inclination, and when at the age of eighty-three or eighty-four he was obliged to have assistance (which was long before he wanted it in his own opinion), he used to be wheeled in his chair to his school; and even in the delirium of his last sickness insisted on giving his daughters a Greek author over which they would mumble and mutter to persuade him that he was still hearing his boys Greek.' His grandson adds, continuing his account of his old age: 'He was found sitting in the hayfield among his workpeople, or sitting in his elbow-chair in the fields nibbling his stick, or with the tail of his damask gown rolled into his pocket busying himself in his garden even at the age of eighty, and if he could not improve it was not seldom detected in making a common destruction of walk, border, or grass plot.' He married, in 1742, Elizabeth



Clapham, of Stackhouse. She is said to have ridden on horseback behind her husband from Stackhouse to Peterborough, where she undertook the duties of house-keeping after her marriage. Her grandson says ; she was the most affectionate and careful of parents. She was a little, shrewd-looking, keen-eyed woman of remarkable strength of mind and spirits ; one of those positive characters that decide promptly and execute at once ; of a sanguine and irritable temper, which led her to be always on the alert in thinking and acting. Her characteristic excellence was in the conduct of her family concerns. It was much the fashion of her day and of her neighbourhood to have, or aim at having, the reputation of good management. She was so thrifty in her housewifery that it not only formed the chief object of her attention, but gave rise to the only characteristic trait recorded of her in her family, viz., her turn for practical drollery. If she could surprise her servants in bed at four o'clock in the morning she seized the opportunity of sparing herself the trouble of a scold, and yet gaining the advantage of it by carrying up their breakfast and, with a curtesy, presenting it to the ladies.' He adds: 'She was certainly a clever managing woman. She had for fortune £400, which in those days, and in that neighbourhood, was almost sufficient to confer the title of heiress ; at least it was a fair sum for one of good family.' With two parents gifted with so much originality, it is not to be wondered at that William was not a commonplace child. He is described as a tall, awkward boy, with great liveliness of spirits, very talkative, but clumsy in his attempts at dexterity and boyish sports, but with a strong inclination for

acute but good-humoured retorts. From the awkwardness of his gait, his unwillingness to join in active sports, his fondness for tricks and mimicry that had something beyond the general habit of boys, or from being one of those boys to whom such names easily and naturally attach, he was always called 'Doctor' by his schoolfellows. When he was very young he was caught pulling out a little girl's tooth because he had seen a quack doctor, the celebrated Dr. Katerfelto, amongst some mountebanks in his village performing the same operation. He was rather delicate in health, and accordingly not noted for personal courage. On being told of the death of a schoolfellow he said he did not much wonder, for he was the only boy in the school he ever did or ever could thrash. The only sport for which he showed a strong partiality, which lasted throughout his life, was fishing; but in this he did not attain to any great degree of efficiency, yet he was satisfied if he fished for a whole day and only obtained a nibble. He was very sensitive, and averse to cruelty towards animals; but he, with the rest of the Giggleswick scholars, attended the cockfights which frequently took place in that neighbourhood. E. Paley says: 'It is necessary to say that by a school, or rather schoolboy's, charter leave was obtained by the governors or trustees at the annual audit for not only the boys, but the masters to attend a cockfight, which the whole neighbourhood frequented.' When a mere boy, probably from the same principle which tempts others to imitate their father, he was found preaching at the market-cross of his village, and bawling out to a circle of old women and boys: 'Behold an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile.' 'Ay,

for sure,' said an old lady who was passing. 'Everybody knows that thou art a guileless lad.'

He was educated by his father at the Grammar School, and was diligent in his studies, but more from fear of his father than from love of reading. On one occasion he ran away from school with one or two companions, but after the boys had spent a night on a wild moor, one professed to have heard a message similar to that which fell upon the ears of Dick Whittington; thereupon they returned, and were found in their places on the next morning.

William Paley, whose future career was decided when he gained a sizarship at Christ's College, Cambridge, at the age of fifteen, does not seem to have impressed his mother with his abilities; but his father evidently recognised his extraordinary intellectual powers, for he is reported to have said: 'My son has gone to college. He'll turn out a great man, very great indeed; I am certain of it, for he has the clearest head I ever met with in my life.' His first journey to Cambridge was accomplished on horseback, and he used often to describe the disasters which befell him on the road. 'I was never a good horseman, and when I followed my father on a pony of my own on my first journey to Cambridge, I fell off seven times. I was lighter than I am now, and my falls were not likely to be serious, so that I soon began to care very little about them. My father, though at first a good deal alarmed at my awkwardness, afterwards became so accustomed to it that on hearing a thump he would only turn his head half aside and say, "Get up and take care of thy money, lad"' (Meadley's 'Life of Paley,' p. 6). Another incident concerning his



feats on horseback in his later years may be given here : 'It was scarcely less painful to see his attitude on horseback than it was for him to use it. It was not only exercise to him, but a most laborious exertion. He kept constantly a slow and regular pace mounted on a very safe-footed and sober old hunter, bought and presented to him by the Bishop of Carlisle. He used to be much amused at relating a freak of this animal, which, on hearing the cry of a pack of hounds, forgetting whether it might be equally agreeable to its rider, undertook to carry him a hunting, not at all for his pleasure, though he remarked it was pleasant enough.' After his matriculation at Cambridge he returned to the North for one year in order that he might study mathematics; and as the curriculum at Giggleswick was at that time more classical than mathematical, he was sent to Dishforth, about four miles from Ripon, to be under the tuition of a Mr. Howarth, who had been a master at Giggleswick. And here the little eccentricities which characterized him throughout his life began to be remarked. His most frequent resort was a pump in the middle of the village; and his master observed that when they walked together to the neighbouring town, what was eight miles to him, his friend Paley, by his strange turnings and twistings and stoppings, managed ingeniously to make sixteen.

Mr. Howarth must have been an excellent teacher, for when Paley went to Cambridge—he came into residence in October, 1759—Mr. Shepherd, his tutor, excused him from attending his college lectures with the men of his year on account of his superior attainments in mathematics; but Paley attended his tutor's



public lectures which he gave as Plumian Professor, and he worked privately at problems which were submitted to him. On December 5, 1759, he was appointed to one of the scholarships founded by Mr. Carr and appropriated to the boys from Giggleswick School. On the following day he was elected a scholar on the foundation of his college, and appointed to the exhibition founded by Sir Walter Mildmay. And in addition to these emoluments he was elected (May 26, 1761) to the scholarship founded by Mr. Bantry, one of the college tenants. He soon became very popular with his associates at the University, though it is said that at first the uncouthness of his dress and manners caused not a little mirth among his fellow-collegians. But as the superiority of his genius and his real worth were soon discovered, these singularities did not long deprive him of their esteem and admiration. Besides, he was a most excellent companion, and had the happiest knack of turning the laugh against himself by relating some absurd or ridiculous blunder which he had committed ; and his absence of mind and inattention to the common usages of life supplied him with many such stories. In his merry humours he could always find something to laugh at in himself, and, indeed, he was often heard to say that a man's laughing at himself was no such mark of folly as is usually supposed, for it proved that he had some ideas : ' And again, that a man who is not sometimes a fool is always one.'

During the first two years of his residence he did not make the best use of his time, and was by no means a hard reader. And his rooms became a sort of rendezvous for some of the idle men in college. But in his

third year he changed his manner of life. How this was brought about shall be told in his own words, although some doubt has been thrown upon the accuracy of the story. He says:

‘I spent the first two years of my undergraduateship happily but unprofitably. I was constantly in society where we were not immoral, but idle and expensive. At the commencement of my third year, however, after having left the usual party at rather a late hour in the evening, I was awakened at five in the morning by one of my companions, who stood at my bedside, and said: “Paley, I have been thinking what a fool you are. I could do nothing, probably, were I to try, and can afford the life I lead; you could do everything, and cannot afford it. I have had no sleep during the whole night on account of these reflections, and am come solemnly to inform you that if you persist in your indolence I must renounce your society.” I was so struck,’ Mr. Paley continued, ‘with the visit and the visitor that I lay in bed a great part of the day and formed my plan. I ordered my bed-maker to prepare my fire every evening in order that it might be lighted by myself. I rose at five, read during the whole day except such hours as Chapel and hall required, allotting to each portion of time its peculiar branch of study, and just before closing of the gates (9 o’clock) I went to a neighbouring coffee-house, where I constantly regaled upon a mutton-chop and a dose of milk-punch. And thus on taking my bachelor’s degree I became Senior Wrangler.’

This distinction was not achieved without the help of a private tutor, and Mr. Paley was fortunate in

securing the assistance in his studies of a Mr. Wilson, who afterwards became famous at the Bar, and who had been Senior Wrangler in 1761. Paley's appearance in the schools to keep his first act is said to have attracted general attention. He was usually noticed to be untidy and slovenly in his habits, so that for some time there was a saying in Cambridge: 'You may be a sloven, but don't think you are a Paley.' But on this occasion he came with his hair full dressed, a deep ruffled shirt, and new silk stockings, which, aided by his gestures, his actions, and his whole manner when earnestly engaged in a debate, excited no small mirth among his spectators. 'On being posed by his adversary,' says his son, 'he would stand with his head dropping upon one of his shoulders, and both his thumbs in his mouth; on striking out his answer with the animation of a εὐρηκα, he would stretch out his arms, rub his hands, and speak out his exaltation in every feature of his face and muscle of his body. His delivery, though not hesitating, was considerably embarrassed. So rapid was his flow of ideas, and so wide the range of his conceptions, that between hunting out proper expressions for them and preserving his short and pithy mode of delivering his sentiments, his language was full of unevenness and his enunciation rather entangled.'

An amusing incident occurred in connection with a question which had been set in the schools for Paley to dispute upon. Mr. Watson, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, one of the Moderators, says: 'Paley, I remember, brought me, for one of the questions he meant for his act, the following, sentence, "Æter-



nitās poenarum contradicit Divinis attributis.” I had accepted it, and, indeed, I never refuse a question either as Moderator or as Professor of Divinity. A few days afterwards he came to me in a fright, saying that the master of his college (Dr. Thomas, Dean of Ely) had sent to him, and insisted on his not keeping on such a question. I readily permitted him to change it, and told him, that if it would lessen his master’s apprehensions, he might put in a *non* before *contradicit*, and he did so.’

Instead of remaining in the University after attaining to such high honours, as most men would have done, he engaged himself as an assistant in an academy at Greenwich kept by a Mr. Bracken, who obliged his assistant, very much against his own inclinations, to wear a wig. Here he taught the lower classics, for which he had little taste, and he used to confess that Virgil was the only Latin poet whose works he could read with satisfaction. It was at this time that he said, when in the company of a party of young men who were discussing somewhat pompously the *summum bonum* of human life: ‘I differ from you all; the true *summum bonum* of human life consists in reading Tristram Shandy, in blowing with a bellows into your shoes in hot weather, and in roasting potatoes in the ashes under the grate in cold.’ This was said with a half-smile and in a sarcastic tone.

Whilst at Greenwich he lived most economically in order that he might pay off some debts which he had contracted at Cambridge, and it is quite probable that his departure from the University may have been mainly determined by his despair at not being able



to accomplish this in the midst of his many friends, and under circumstances which made economy more difficult to practise. Alluding to this period in after-life, he used to remark that such difficulties might afford a useful lesson to a young man of good principles, and that the privations to which he thought it his duty to submit produced a habit of economy which had been of infinite service to him ever since.

Paley was very fond of studying human nature under various aspects. At Cambridge he would go to the fair held at a little village about two miles from the town, and, mixing with the crowd, he would watch the puppet-shows and other exhibitions. And when he was near the Metropolis he would frequent the Houses of Parliament, and the Courts of Law for the same purpose ; and he would sometimes walk from Greenwich without his dinner to see Garrick act.

In the year 1765 he gained the prize for the Bachelors' Latin Essay at Cambridge. The title of the essay was '*Utrum civitate perniciosior sit. Epicuri au Zenonis philosophia?*' In this essay he shows a partiality for the Epicureans. His connection with the school at Greenwich was brought to an end by a little quarrel which he had with the headmaster concerning the distribution of some money which had been sent by the parents of the pupils for the benefit of the assistants. He now became tutor to the son of Mrs. Ord, who lived in Greenwich (afterwards Dr. Ord, of Fordham, near Bury St. Edmunds, Prebendary of Lincoln, and a magistrate. He accompanied Paley to Cambridge). As an example of the way in which Paley practised economy, it is said, that as he had no

carpet, he caused his pupil to stand on the bellows whilst he repeated his lessons. But the authorities of his Alma Mater did not intend to lose sight of one who had given such indications of extraordinary ability. He was elected to a fellowship at his college on June 24, 1766. The appointment was worth about £100 per annum. In the meanwhile he had taken Holy Orders, and had acted as curate to Dr. Hinchcliffe, Vicar of Greenwich. Personally, he was very popular, but he acquired no reputation in the pulpit. His sermons at this period were verbose and florid, declamatory in style, and without the close reasoning which marked his later discourses. Before he took up his residence at Cambridge he was ordained priest by Dr. Terrick, in the Chapel Royal, on December 21, 1767. On his arrival at the University he was made assistant tutor with his friend Mr. Law. Under their influence the discipline of the college was improved and its reputation increased. Paley lectured on Moral Philosophy, the Greek Testament, and Divinity. He was one of the few men at that time who could make metaphysics interesting and intelligible to ordinary minds. He showed his moral courage by opposing an application for the use of the college hall by a nobleman whose morality was not above suspicion. His friends and associates were Dr. Law; the Rev. W. Fellow, of St. John's; Lord Ellenborough; the Rev. Dr. Ord (formerly his pupil); the Rev. E. Wilson, of Pembroke Hall, who was also a Craven man, Mr. Unwin, the friend of Cowper the poet, and many other eminent men in the University. Paley, who belonged to no party, is said to have been very popular.

He often detained the Fellows' dinner-table by his wit and drollery, and he was the life and soul of the combination room. His private friends spoke of him as 'benevolent, candid, affable, lively and sprightly, and ready at all times to communicate whatever he thought or whatever he knew, with a perfect unconsciousness of his own superiority or the least suspicion of his own importance, and with such peculiar buoyancy of spirit that they at once saw that he was not only interested in what he was about, but did not care a rush for his own trouble or inconvenience.'

In the year 1770 he was appointed Whitehall preacher, a position in which it is probable he did not feel at his ease, for in after-life he was wont to say that he preferred to preach to a country congregation. In fact, in the midst of his success at Cambridge, he was constantly hankering after the life of the country clergyman. He made periodical visits to his home at Giggleswick, and often in the company of Mr. Law, afterwards Bishop of Elphin, in Ireland. In these visits, whilst Paley amused himself with fishing in the Ribble, his companion would scramble over the hills and stone walls, which are a feature of this country. His son gives an amusing anecdote relating to these visits, and one which is very characteristic of Craven :

'An old man of Giggleswick who accompanied Mr. Paley in fishing was the only person, he used to say, who gave him a true view of the folly of affected condescension, for on being asked to ride with Mr. Paley in his gig, which was intended to gratify the old man, "Nay," said he, "I'd as well walk beside you, for, if you wouldn't shame with me in Settle I should with you."'



It was probably at this period of his life that he expressed a wish that he might some day be Vicar of Arncliffe. There is no doubt but that during some of his fishing expeditions in this neighbourhood he would make an acquaintance with Littondale, and its beauties, and he would become sensible of the many facilities which such a cure would allow for the exercise of his favourite pastime, and especially as at this time the father of his old Cambridge friend, Canon Wilson, was living at Halton Gill. My authority for this remark was the late Archdeacon Boyd, who wrote these words on the back of a small portrait of Paley now in my possession: 'As a boy he was educated at Giggleswick school, and used to take long exercise over the hills to Arncliffe, botanizing, etc. He was wont to say that to be Vicar of Arncliffe was the height of his ambition.'

In spite of the success which attended his work in the University as a lecturer, he determined to take the first offer of preferment in the country which came to him; and he had not long to wait, for the Bishop of Carlisle, the father of his friend Law, presented him to the rectory of Musgrave in Westmoreland, then worth a little more than £80 per annum. He was inducted to this benefice on May 28, 1775, and afterwards spent much of his time between Rose Castle and Mr. Law's house in Carlisle. He soon afterwards married Miss Jane Hewitt of Carlisle. At Musgrave he passed some of the happiest days of his life. He spent any time he could spare from study and parish work in angling and in the management of a small farm, but he had forgotten his own want of knowledge of husbandry. 'I soon found,'



he said, when alluding to the failure of his project, 'that this would never do. I was a bad farmer, and almost invariably lost.' In the next year (December, 1776) his duties made more demands upon his time, for he was presented by the same patron to the living of Dalston in Cumberland, worth then about £90 per annum. On July 15, 1777, he preached, at the visitation of the Bishop in the cathedral at Carlisle, a sermon which he afterwards published with the title 'Caution recommended in the Use and Application of Scripture Language.' On September 5 he resigned the living of Musgrave, and on the 10th day of the same month he was instituted to the more valuable Vicarage of Appleby (£200), on the presentation of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle. He now divided his time between this place and Dalston, residing alternately six months at each. Whilst he was at Appleby he published a small volume for the use of the Clergy, entitled 'The Clergyman's Companion in Visiting the Sick.' The book was much appreciated, and for several years it had a large circulation. The schoolmaster at Appleby during the first years of Mr. Paley's residence was the celebrated Mr. Yates, and between him and the Vicar a close friendship was formed. They often spent their evenings together. Mr. Yates would send a message to the Vicar saying that the schoolmaster desired his society. The answer sent back on one occasion was that Mr. Paley was busy knitting. Another message was sent to desire that he would bring his knitting with him, when Mr. Paley would good-humouredly put it in his pocket, and exhibit it to show that he was in truth knitting a stocking for his first child. Mr. Yates died in his

eighty-first year, and Paley wrote, what one of his biographers terms, the just and striking eulogy which is inscribed on the marble monument erected to this able teacher's memory in Appleby Church. On June 17, 1780, the subject of this memoir was collated to the fourth prebendal stall in Carlisle Cathedral, and in consequence of Mr. Law's appointment to an Irish bishopric, he was shortly afterwards made Archdeacon of Carlisle (the living of Great Salkeld is annexed to the archdeaconry). This office was at that time a mere sinecure, as the duty of superintending the affairs of the clergy devolved upon the Chancellor of the Diocese, an office which also came into Paley's hands later on in life.

At the consecration of his friend to the bishopric of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh in the Castle Chapel, he preached the sermon, which was published under the title of 'A Distinction of Orders in the Church defended upon the Principle of Public Utility,' in which he supports Episcopacy upon utilitarian grounds, considering it to be of the *bene esse* of the Church rather than of the *esse*. The sermon gave rise to a controversy on the subject. At this time he was engaged on the production of the first of those important works which have kept his name so long before the world. 'The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy' appeared in 1785 in quarto form. The circumstances under which it was published are thus related by Dr. Meadley: 'When the manuscript was ready for the press it was offered to Mr. Faulder, of Bond Street, when dining at Rose Castle, for one hundred guineas; but he declined the risk of publishing it on his own account.

After the success of the work was in some measure ascertained, Mr. Paley would have sold it to him for £300, but he refused to give more than £250. Whilst this treaty was pending, a bookseller from Carlisle, happening to call on an eminent publisher in Paternoster Row, was commissioned by him to offer Mr. Paley one thousand pounds for the copyright of his work. The bookseller on his return to Carlisle duly executed the commission, which was communicated to the Bishop of Clonfert, who, being at that time in London, had undertaken the management of the affair. "Never did I suffer so much anxious fear," said Mr. Paley, in relating the circumstance, "as on this occasion, lest my friend should have concluded the bargain with Mr. Faulder before my letter could reach him." Luckily, he had not, but, on receiving the letter, he went immediately into Bond Street and made the new demand. Mr. Faulder, though in no small degree surprised and astonished at the advance, agreed for the sum before the Bishop left the house. "Little did I think," said Mr. Paley, in allusion to this affair, "that I should ever make a thousand pounds by any book of mine." A strong proof of unassuming merit.'

The book was a great success both for the author and publisher. It passed through fifteen editions in the author's lifetime. The plan which he adopted in the work was taken from his College lectures on Ethics. The object of moral philosophy is to supply information on those points which the Scriptures have left undecided,—that is, to be silent when the Scriptures speak, and to speak when they are silent. Paley's system of philosophy may be said to rest on 'expediency' rather than on



‘duty.’ ‘Virtue,’ he says, ‘is the doing good to mankind in obedience to the will of God and for the sake of everlasting happiness. The “good of mankind,” therefore, is the subject, the “will of God,” and “everlasting happiness,” the motive of human virtue. All obligation consists in being urged by a violent motive resulting from the command of another. As the will of God, then, is the rule, to inquire what is his duty, or what a man is obliged to do in any instance, is, in effect, to inquire what is the will of God in that instance, which consequently becomes the whole business of morality. There are two methods of coming at the will of God on any point: by His express declarations when they are to be had, and which must be sought for in Scripture; and by what can be discovered of His designs and disposition from His works, or, as it is usually called, the light of Nature. The tendency of any action to promote or diminish the general happiness, is the fairest criterion for ascertaining the will of God by the light of Nature; since the many proofs of benevolence apparent in the works of creation warrant the conclusion that He wills and wishes the happiness of His creatures; and that those actions are agreeable to Him, or the contrary, which promote or frustrate that effect. Actions in the abstract, then, are right or wrong, according to their tendency. Whatever is expedient is right. It is the utility of any moral rule alone that constitutes the obligation of it.’

Dr. Paley took great interest in the efforts which were then being made for the abolition of the slave trade, and in 1788 he addressed a meeting in London for the furtherance of that end. And when, in the



next year, the subject was discussed in the House of Commons, he drew up a short treatise, which, however, was never published, entitled, 'Arguments against the Unjust Pretensions of Slave-dealers and Holders, to be Indemnified by Pecuniary Allowance at the Public Expense, in case the Slave Trade should be Abolished.' He also presided at a meeting held in Carlisle in 1792 for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade, and after his very able speech a resolution was passed condemning this iniquitous traffic.

In June, 1789, the Bishop of Ely (Dr. York) offered him the mastership of Jesus College, Cambridge. Paley thus alludes to the offer: 'I send the enclosed letter, for my father to see, from the Bishop of Ely, a man I know no more of than I do of the Pope. I was never in a greater quandary. I have reason to believe that the situation would be a step to the highest preferments. On the other hand, to leave a situation with which I am well satisfied, and in which I am perfectly at ease in my circumstances, is a serious sort of change. I think it will end in declining it.' And this was his decision; but he gracefully alludes to the Bishop's kindness in his dedication of the 'Evidences,' published a few years after, where he says: 'When, five years ago, an important station in the University of Cambridge awaited your Lordship's disposal, you were pleased to offer it me. The circumstances under which this offer was made demand a public acknowledgment. I had never seen your Lordship; I possessed no connection which could possibly recommend me to your favour. I was known to you only by my endeavours, in common with many others, to discharge my duty

as a tutor in the University, and by some very imperfect, but certainly well-intentioned, and, as you thought, useful publications since. In an age by no means wanting in examples of honourable patronage, although this deserves not to be mentioned in respect to the object of your Lordship's choice, it is inferior to none in the purity and disinterestedness of the motives which suggested it.'

In 1790 he published the most original of his works, the '*Horæ Paulinæ*,' or the truth of the Scripture history of St. Paul evinced, by a comparison of the Epistles which bear his name with the Acts of the Apostles, and with one another. By a comparison of the indirect allusions in the Epistles to circumstances related in the Acts of the Apostles, or casually referred to in some other Epistle, Mr. Paley derives his great argument, that, independent of all collateral testimony, their undesigned coincidence affords the strongest proof of their genuineness, and of the reality of the transactions to which they relate. It was translated into German at Helmstadt in 1797.

As bearing on the present value of this work, I quote the following passage from Mr. F. Ballard's '*Miracles of Unbelief*,' pp. 191, 192: 'A modern judge, giving his opinion as to what kind of evidence most deserved credence, expressed himself to the effect that it is "not that of hardy and direct assertion, but that which receives incidental confirmation from the putting together of incidental circumstances"; in short, he said, the sort of coincidences in Paley's "*Horæ Paulinæ*." This was not spoken with reference to theology, but simply as indicating a certain kind of evidence. And nothing

that modern criticism has established avails in the least to diminish the evidential value of the marvellous network of undesigned coincidences to which Paley directs attention.'

His thoughts were now turned to the disturbed state of the country, and to the agitation which the French Revolution had engendered, and which the publication of Tom Paine's 'Rights of Man' had increased among certain classes of the community. He expressed his thoughts in a pamphlet, entitled 'Reasons for Contentment: Addressed to the Laboring Part of the Population' (Faulder: 1793). And he further exerted himself for the improvement of the condition of the working classes by taking a leading part in the establishment of a dispensary, and by compiling a little work for the use of Sunday-schools in Carlisle. This publication caused him some annoyance, as he was accused of plagiarism by a Mr. Robertson in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. It was customary then for Sunday-schools to teach, amongst other things, spelling and reading, and Paley's little book contained some examples of words for spelling which he had apparently copied from another book of the same kind. Paley was able to explain satisfactorily his motive in doing this, and after a few more letters in the *Magazine* the subject was dropped. On May 27, 1792, he received a further acknowledgment of his great abilities from the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle by his institution to the Vicarage of Addingham, near Great Salkeld, which he held with his other preferments. It is said, that it was with reference to this benefice, that he observed to his Bishop: 'My Lord, though I am a plurist in prefer-



ments, I am a much greater plurist in children.' He had four sons and four daughters. Mrs. Paley died in 1791, after a long illness. On March 15, 1793, he vacated the living of Dalston, and was collated by the Bishop of Carlisle (Dr. Vernon) to the Vicarage of Stanwix, which is near to Carlisle. His reasons for accepting this living and vacating Dalston were once given to a clerical friend with a frankness which was characteristic of the man: 'Why, sir, I had two or three reasons for taking Stanwix in exchange: first, it saved me double housekeeping, as Stanwix was within twenty minutes' walk of Carlisle; secondly, it was fifty pounds a year more in value; and, thirdly, I began to find my stock of sermons coming over too fast again.' He was now revolving in his mind a subject which had long engaged his attention. In 1795 he printed what may be called his *chef-d'œuvre*, the publication of which has given to his name a kind of immortality. 'A View of the Evidences of Christianity,' in 3 vols., 12mo., took the literary world by storm, and the whole of the first edition was sold out in a day. Nine editions appeared in the author's lifetime. He asked and obtained for the copyright of this work and the 'Horæ Paulinæ' the sum of £500. The University of Cambridge passed a 'grace' to the effect that the work should be placed amongst those books which are required for the 'previous examination,' and the 'Evidences' still remains in that favoured position. The author seems to have anticipated something of the kind when he wrote to his bookseller: 'I have good reason to believe the "Evidences" will become a standard book for persons entering into "Orders," and for the



Universities, the Bishop of — tells me so; if so, it is not unlikely to command a regular sale for some years. I have no wish that it should go into other hands. I will offer you fair terms, and I may be tempted by other offers.' This work presented in a clear and readable form most of the arguments in favour of Christianity in a manner which was new to Paley's generation. And he showed in doing so that many of the pleas against Christianity put forth by the Deists of the eighteenth century were untenable. The work was not original. He had gone over much of the same ground in his lectures at Cambridge, and his son says: 'that the rough cast of his "Evidences" seems to proceed upon, and to be a sort of abstract of the second and third books of Grotius' "De Veritate," etc.' He adds: 'The "Evidences of Christianity" are an aggregate of many circumstances, not any one of which would be alone sufficient, and yet altogether convey a complete and entire satisfaction. This I mention for the sake of those who are uneasy because they have not some one single proof to turn to, which, like a demonstration in Euclid, makes an end of the question at once.'

And Dr. Chalmers remarks: 'It is a work which has been justly termed a desideratum on theology. Many large systematic books, says a critic, have been written for the use of the learned, and many smaller tracts have been composed for common use, in which the leading heads of argument have been stated in general terms, without fatiguing the reader with historical details and learned quotations, but a succinct treatise was still wanted which should contain all the essential proofs of the Divine origin of the Christian religion digested

into a connected train of reasoning, supported where necessary by a reference to ancient writings, yet brought within such a moderate compass, and expressed in such easy language as to render it fit for general reading.' His professed design was to preserve the separation between evidence and doctrine as inviolable as he could, to remove from the primary question all considerations which have been unnecessarily joined with it, and to offer a defence of Christianity which every Christian might read without seeing the tenets in which he had been brought up attacked or decried. His merits, which up to this time had not been adequately recognised by those who had the disposal of the higher preferments at their command, now received a more general recognition. The Bishop of London collated him to the Prebend of St. Pancras in St. Paul's Cathedral. The value of this prebend was small, but, as there were no specific duties attached to it, he was not required to reside in London. The Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Pretymann) soon after this promoted him to the office of Sub-dean of Lincoln Cathedral, and his lordship, in making this offer, gives his appreciation of his writings as his reason for thus promoting him: 'Solely,' he says, 'from the great respect I have always entertained for your character, and which has just been confirmed and raised by the very able manner in which you have supported the general evidences of Christianity in your two last publications. As I feel I could not give this piece of preferment to any other person with so much satisfaction to my own mind, so I am convinced that I could not otherwise dispose of it with so much credit to myself in the opinion of all who have any regard for the interests

of religion. It was at this time that his old Craven friend, Canon Wilson, of Windsor, and formerly W. Pitt's tutor, said that 'he never envied Pretymán his bishopric before.'

That King George III. valued the 'Evidences' very highly, the following letter, written from Windsor (January 11, 1797), shows :

'It is a proof of great friendship, my dear sir, that you call my last letter an interesting one, as it was filled wholly with concerns of me and mine. I have now somewhat to say that respects you. . . . On the very Sunday that I received your letter this little dialogue took place in the Chapter-room of St. George's :

'KING. Majendie, do you know who has taken my "Paley" out of my library ?

'M. No, Sir ; I have not.

'KING. Do you think Fisher has ? It is bound in dark calf, and has blue letters on the back. I value the book highly, and would not be without it on any account. Pray, where does Dr. Paley reside now ?

'M. At Weymouth, Sir, I believe principally ; but Mr. Wilson knows best.

'KING. Does he never come into this part of the world, Mr. Wilson ?

'WILSON. I hope, Sir, to have the satisfaction of seeing him with me next summer.

'And there for the present the conversation ended. The Sunday fortnight after, Mr. Wilson told me that the King had not yet found his "Paley." Neither Majendie or Fisher have it. He has now but one chance of finding it again. He thinks he must have left it at Weymouth. He knows he took it with him



in his pocket ; it is probable he has left it behind him. On this supposition he will send for another immediately, and he is rather pleased with the circumstance, as he shall now have one there to recur to as well as here, for he thinks it a very useful and valuable publication. Now, my dear sir, if you are above royal praise I have done wrong in taking up your time and mine, but I confess I felt so proud of it, I could not resist the impulse of telling you.'

He was installed as Sub-dean of Lincoln on January 24, 1795, and he proceeded to Cambridge immediately afterwards, and took his degree of D.D. His *concio* to the clergy at his D.D. degree was founded on Heb. xii. 18, and in it he gives an interesting account of the Shechinah. Before he left Cambridge he was astonished to receive a further mark of appreciation from the Episcopal Bench. This time the offer of the valuable living of Bishop Wearmouth was made to him by the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Barrington). When he paid a visit to his patron in London and was about to express his gratitude, the Bishop cut him short with the remark : ' Not one word more of this, sir ; be assured that you cannot have greater pleasure in accepting the living of Bishop Wearmouth than I have in offering it to you.'

Between this place and Lincoln he spent the ten remaining years of his life, for he resigned his three livings in the Diocese of Carlisle. He came to Bishop Wearmouth in March, 1795 ; and thus writes concerning this living soon after his appointment :

' I was told at Durham that it is one of the best parsonages in England, and that there are not three



Bishops who have better. There is not a shilling to be laid out upon it, and you might have rubbed it down from top to bottom with a white handkerchief without soiling it. With the house—which, if it had been half as good, would have contented me as well—the gardens and grounds are of a piece. There is nearly half a mile, I think, of wall, planted with fruit trees; a rich field of 10 acres, surrounded with a well-paved walk; garden and shrubbery grounds, commanding some pretty views of the Wear; two or three hot-houses, and a greenhouse. Coal five shillings a cartful. We stand at the end of Sunderland, which is three or four times the size of Carlisle, but made into a separate parish. My house is about a mile from the sea; fish plentiful, market rather dearer than Carlisle; fine country, good roads.'

Whilst he held the living he gained some popularity by dealing liberally with the tithes, which were then paid in kind, but which Dr. Paley, to avoid any future disputes, leased to some of the landowners on advantageous terms. And he also granted leases of his glebe lands and quarries at very moderate rents, so that after his decease the lessees presented a piece of plate to his representatives to mark their appreciation of this liberality.

On July 29, 1795, he was appointed by the Bishop of Durham to preach the assize sermon in the cathedral. He took for his text the words: 'For none of us liveth to himself' (Rom. xi. 7), and he deduces from them the great truth that each station in life has its peculiar duties with regard to others. Every man has his work. At a Durham visitation sermon, he says of the clergy: 'Retiredness is the very characteristic of our calling. It

is impossible to be a good clergyman and to be always in the streets, or to be continually mixing with the diversions, the follies, or even the business or pursuits of the world. Perhaps no moments are passed with so much complacency as those which a scholar passes in his study.'

When he was fifty-two years of age (on December 14, 1795) he took to himself a second wife, Miss Dobinson, of Carlisle, who survived him, and died in 1819. His life at Bishop Wearmouth was a very pleasant one. He was fond of society. His wit, talent, and pleasantry made him a welcome guest anywhere, and his apparent desire for information and the keenness with which he entered on any subject made him a visitor worthy of attention. But as his health was not very good during his sojourn at Bishop Wearmouth, he preferred to have his society in his own house when he could do so. His son, speaking of this period, says: 'His health at no time in his life was sufficiently strong to do without management, and though he was utterly regardless of his own personal convenience, and so far from using any unnecessary caution was, partly from inclination and partly from pretended conviction, negligent of the common means of guarding against the disorders of his constitution by diet or medicine, yet he was not less sensible of its craziness than patient and resigned under the most painful attacks of a nephralgic complaint, accompanied with a species of melæna. This constant liability to violent disorder led him to a certain method in his rides and walks, in order that he might have certain hours in his study.'

'I seldom,' he writes to a friend two years after his arrival in Bishop Wearmouth, 'go out of the gates

but to justice meetings and upon public business, except when we visit. The field and garden are my ride and walk, my exercise and my amusement. The wind blew my hat to the top of the house the other day, where it stuck in the gutter, or it might have been in Holland by this time.'

His taste for the objects and works of Nature rather than any skill in natural philosophy led him still to be fond of gardening, though it now rather became a more gentlemanly work of superintendence. For an hour after breakfast and dinner he had his regular walks of musing and recollection, with which he let nothing interfere, nor anyone share except his youngest daughter, who with a basket under her arm, to pick up anything that he chose to put into it, followed him *haud æquis passibus*. At such times he seldom spoke a single word, but now and then he used to surprise his youthful companion by bursting out into the most immoderate laughter, or muttering out scraps of poetry or sentences of prose; 'or, with the handle of his stick in his mouth, now moving in a short, hurried step, now stopping at a butterfly, a flower, a snail, etc., at one instant pausing to consider the subject of his next sermon, at the next carrying the whole weight and intent of his mind to the arranging of some pots in his green-house, or preparing with the greatest gravity to remove some stick or stand that offended his eye, he presented the most prominent feature of his mind very obviously, but made it, perhaps, happy for his public character that he chose to be alone.' From his choosing this manner of life he was, as he said, looked upon by some of his neighbours as a 'curiosity,' and his eccentricities made him appear to



many as a little 'odd.' In the evening he seldom conversed much with his family, though he would have them around him, and left them quite at liberty to employ such times in their own way.

However, when the occasion required it, Dr. Paley could be very practical. In the year 1799 there was a great scarcity of provisions throughout England. Meetings were held in most parishes by the local authorities, and resolutions were passed asking people to restrict themselves in the consumption of food of various kinds. At a meeting held in Dr. Paley's district he drew up some rules asking people to refrain from the use of pudding and pastry, and any sort of bread except ordinary wheaten bread; to discontinue the giving of oats, beans, or peas to horses; to procure oatmeal, rye, beans, peas, and rice to sell at a cheap rate; and to recommend gentlemen to apply the leavings of their tables to soup shops, to be provided and supported by the township and parish. This, like the projected plan of lessening the consumption of sugar in order to check the slave trade, was attended with at first indifferent success, though rigidly followed up in his family and elsewhere.

He acted for several years as a Justice of the Peace for the County of Durham, but in this capacity he was sometimes thought to be a little irritable and hasty. Although during the whole of his life he was a pluralist in the matter of holding livings, yet he saw the disadvantages of non-residence amongst the clergy, and in his latter years he drafted a Bill for promoting the residence of the parochial clergy. His method was to tax to the extent of five shillings in the pound all non-



residents for the benefit of the poorer livings, the tax to be paid over to Queen Anne's Bounty Fund, so that if a clergyman held two livings, he would pay this tax for the one on which he did not reside; eight months' residence was to be considered sufficient.

He usually lived at Lincoln from Christmas till May, and he attained a high degree of popularity in the cathedral city. His hospitality was unbounded, and he often had a French refugee Roman Catholic priest at his table; and when someone ventured to remonstrate, and suggested that possibly the priest might be making converts, Paley merely answered: 'He convert anyone! He never converted anything in his life except a neck of mutton into chops!'

The Sub-dean belonged to a literary society at Lincoln which held meetings once a fortnight at a principal inn, where, after taking coffee, choosing books, and a little chit-chat, the evening was closed with a barrel of oysters and a rubber of whist, which Dr. Paley highly enjoyed, and he often, though in pain, kept the table in a roar of laughter. His anecdotes were rendered the more entertaining from the manner in which they were delivered, by a peculiarly animated countenance and a characteristic curling of the nose. He had nothing of those forbidding and overbearing manners which are too frequently attendant upon superior talents and abilities. An old clergyman once asserted, in the presence of his Bishop and Dr. Paley, that, though he had been married almost forty years, he had never had the slightest difference with his wife. The Bishop, pleased at so rare an instance of connubial felicity, was supposed to be on the very point of a

compliment, when Dr. Paley archly exclaimed : ‘Don’t you think, my lord, it must have been very flat?’ A lady once observed to him, at a card-table at Lincoln, ‘that the only excuse for their playing was that it seemed to kill time.’ ‘The best defence possible, madam,’ replied he, ‘though time will in the end kill us.’

He sometimes made excursions into Craven and Cumberland on the journey between Bishop Wearmouth and Lincoln, for his father resided at Giggleswick until his death, which took place on September 29, 1799, at the age of eighty-eight. A small brass plate in the church of that parish marks his resting-place and that of his mother, who died in March, 1796, at the age of eighty-three years.

In 1800 his health began to fail, and he had to give up public speaking and preaching; but with great resolution he determined to devote himself to literary work with the little strength which remained to him, so that if he could not benefit the Church through his voice he might still be of some use with his pen. In May, 1802, he was induced to try the Buxton waters, and although he was suffering from the progress of a fatal malady, he was busy with the composition of the last of his important works. For in that year appeared Dr. Paley’s ‘Natural Theology; or the Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity collected from the Appearance of Nature.’ The author of this work read very widely, and collected together a vast number of scientific illustrations, which made the work very readable. The progress of science since his time has, perhaps, caused some of his arguments to lose much

of their force, but the greater part of the work may still be read with profit. A well-known writer (F. Ballard, 'The Miracles of Unbelief,' 4th ed., 1902, p. 50) says: 'It would be a great gain if all modern doubters could be induced even to give Paley's "Natural Theology" a thorough perusal. For amongst the modern fallacies of to-day none is more delusive than the common notion, so eagerly fostered in some quarters, that such treatises as these are too antiquated to be of any value.'

The celebrated argument from design, suggested by the finding of a watch upon the ground, is said to have been borrowed from Nieuwentyt, whose religious philosophy was translated into English about the middle of the eighteenth century. It occurs also in Tucker's 'Light of Nature,' and is traced by Hallam to a passage in Cicero's 'Natura Deorum' (*cf.* 'Dictionary of National Biography,' article Paley). Professor le Gros Clark, President of the Royal College of Surgeons, says in the introduction to his edition of this work: 'The modern doctrine of evolution does not necessarily carry with it a confutation of the argument from the appearance of design. If this theory shall ever take its place among the universally recognised truths of science it will undoubtedly affect what may be called the incidence of the argument, and render the application of it more remote. But a little consideration will show that the argument itself will retain its essential validity, and by no means be robbed of its force or become antiquated or useless.'

As there seemed little hope of his recovery from his complaint, he resigned the Archdeaconry of



Carlisle and the Rectory of Salkeld in 1804. His valuable life was now drawing to a close, and the powers of nature, gradually exhausted by repeated sufferings, were less able to resist the attacks upon his constitution, yet he kept his residence at Lincoln for the last time in 1805. He died at Bishop Wearmouth on May 25 of the same year, and was buried in the north aisle of Carlisle Cathedral.

In stature he was rather tall, and corpulent in his latter years. He had inherited, says one well capable of judging, the qualities of a long line of sturdy North-Country yeomen. He was the incarnation of strong common-sense, full of genial good-humour, and always disposed to take life pleasantly. He had no romance, poetic sensibility, or enthusiasm, but he was thoroughly genial and manly. He was a very affectionate husband and father, and fond, like Sidney Smith, of gaining knowledge from everyone who would talk to him. He said he only met one person in life from whom he could learn nothing. As a preacher, his language was forcible, his reasoning strong, and his matter interesting; but his manner in the pulpit was awkward and his voice weak, and he preferred preaching to small country congregations. And yet he is said to have been acceptable to all classes by the plainness and originality of his illustrations, the homeliness and familiarity of his style, and the expressiveness of his language; and it ought to be added that he was peculiarly striking, even to children, in some of his discourses.

A great French writer has said: '*La parole a été donnée à l'homme pour cacher sa pensée,*' but the charge of obscurity could never be brought against



Paley. If he was not profound, he was always clear. Whatever faults of style he had, no one could mistake his meaning, although all might not agree with his conclusions.

When lecturing on preaching he once told his pupils that, if they had to preach every Sunday, they should compose one sermon and steal five. By which advice he meant that young preachers, instead of striving after originality at the beginning of their ministry, should carefully study the sermons of eminent divines, and try to reproduce the best thoughts which are to be found in such discourses. He was not above using this method with his own sermons.

To sum up his position in the religious world.

We cannot claim this Craven worthy as a great divine or as an original thinker. He founded no new school of philosophy, nor did he attach himself to any party in the Church. He added little by his works to our general stock of religious knowledge. But he was eminent as an able interpreter to his own generation of the meaning and position of Christianity; and he placed before the men of the eighteenth century the historical evidence for our holy religion and its moral claims with a perspicuity and a force which was new to them. The controversy with the opponents of Christianity has taken a new departure since Paley's time, and other modes of defence are required; nevertheless, his works still contain a valuable repertory of arguments in favour of revealed religion. To thousands of intellectual inquirers his writings have brought an edification and a satisfaction which have been wanting elsewhere.

Only the other day a neighbour told me that, when he was at Cambridge, a friend with whom he had arranged to take a walk came to him and asked to be excused that afternoon, as he had found such an interesting book that he wished to read it to the end without delay. The book turned out to be Paley's 'Evidences.'

His general character is ably set forth by Dr. Meadley, who saw so much of him in his latter years. He was, he says, ready on all occasions to promote the general interests of society, or to accommodate his more immediate neighbours with any civilities or kind offices in his power. Though economical on principle as well as from early habit, he was liberal, and even generous, in all his pecuniary transactions with others. He was charitable to the poor, and known to be in the habit of serving street-beggars on this avowed principle, that the hardheartedness which might arise from an indiscriminate rejection of all who thus implore assistance was a far greater evil than the chances of being sometimes imposed on. He was invariably more highly esteemed and beloved in proportion as he was better known, for he had none of those seeming virtues which dazzle at a distance but shrink from more accurate examination; he acted on no false pretences, and assumed no disguise. His little defects, it is possible, might strike the common observer more forcibly, but they were not only such that might be borne with, but such as afforded his friends continual opportunities of discovering under them the goodness of his heart.

Dr. Paley has been fortunate in his biographers.

Dr. Meadley, the Rev. E. Paley, and Dr. Chalmers have all written most appreciative lives of this eminent man. The latter of these writers sums up the record of his life with the remark that what Dr. Johnson said of Goldsmith is yet more applicable to Paley—*Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit.*



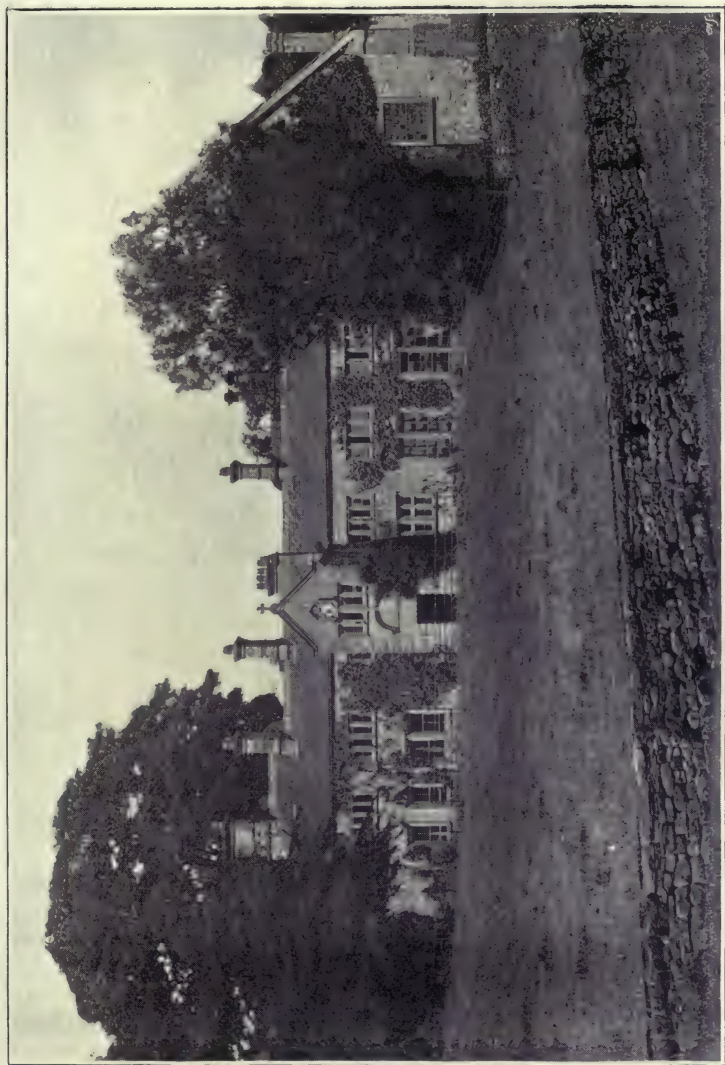
## GEORGE CROFT

*‘Genus et proavos et quæ non fecimus ipsi,  
Vix ea nostra voco.’*

OVID.

*‘Nought from my birth or ancestors I claim ;  
All is my own, all self-acquired fame.’*

IN these days of School Boards and of universal education, when, by means of county and other scholarships, poor students can be passed on from our elementary schools to the Universities, we are apt to think that a century or two ago there was no opportunity for boys born in the humblest class of life, to rise to distinction in Church or State. But that this was by no means the case, the career of George Croft testifies. He was born of humble parents in the township of Beamsley, which forms a portion of the parish of Bolton Abbey. He was the second son of Samuel Croft, baptized March 27, 1747, and was educated in the Grammar School at Bolton, which had been founded by the Hon. Robert Boyle in the first year of the eighteenth century. Mr. Thomas Carr (the father of Mr. W. Carr) was the master of the school and incumbent of the parish, and he found in George Croft such a promising pupil that he taught him without fee. In a short time



BOLTON ABBEY RECTORY.



George became so celebrated for his rapid advance in learning that not unfrequently strangers who visited Bolton Abbey sent for this young scholar, and either attempted to puzzle him with knotty passages from classical authors, or proposed to him questions in Divinity. An uncouthness in his external appearance, accompanied by a slight paralytic affection of the head, increased the astonishment of his examiners at the readiness and correctness of his answers. 'He was in his early years considered a living harmony of the Gospels, for when a passage was quoted to him out of one of them he rarely failed to recollect and repeat the parallel passage from the others. This, however, was remarkable in his memory, that he seldom retained what he did not at least suppose himself to understand.' Mr. Carr, who was proud of his pupil, determined that he should proceed to the University of Oxford when he reached a suitable age. Consequently, in the year 1762, when George was only fifteen years of age, his master solicited and obtained some subscriptions from his friends and neighbours towards the expense of his talented scholar, who was matriculated at University College, Oxford, as a Bible Clerk. As he entered on his studies at the University at a period when it was not distinguished for intellectual activity, he was fortunate in becoming a member of a college where the general decadence in learning and discipline (*cf.* p. 183) had not taken place, for a recent historian (*cf.* Carr's 'University College, Oxon.,' pp. 184, 185) assures us that 'the last half of the eighteenth century proved a golden period, during which the staff of teachers was distinguished for learning and ability, and their pupils



in after-life attained the highest positions in the service of the State and in the learned professions.' Such teachers would not be slow in recognising the merits of the Bolton Abbey scholar. But, as it was before the age of class-lists, we are unable to say in what position he stood when he took his B.A. degree in 1768. In the same year he became known to the whole University as the successful competitor for the Chancellor's English essay, which had only just been established as a University prize. The title of the essay was, '*Artes prosunt reipublicæ.*' As the essays were not printed at that time, I am unable to give the reader a specimen of its contents.

He was elected a scholar of his college on May 9, 1768. He now took pupils, and amongst his associates were W. Jones (afterwards Sir William), the great Oriental scholar, and the two brothers Scott, of whom one became Lord Eldon, and the other Lord Stowell (1821). Croft did not remain long in residence after taking his B.A. On December 6, 1768, he accepted the headmastership of Beverley Grammar School, and so came back to his native county. In the next year he proceeded to the degree of M.A., and ten years later he became a Fellow of his college (July 16, 1779). On December 11 of the same year he was instituted to the Vicarage of Arncliffe, in Craven, to which he had been presented by his college.

In 1780 he took the degrees of B.D. and D.D., and about this time he became chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Elgin. On October 12 he married Ann, daughter of William Grimston, of Ripon, by whom he had one son and six daughters.

After holding the office of headmaster at Beverley for about eleven years, he accepted the same position in the Grammar School of Brewood, in Staffordshire, an appointment which he held until 1791, when he was made Lecturer at St. Martin's Church, Birmingham, and Chaplain of St. Bartholemew's, in the same parish. He now took up his residence at St. Martin's Parsonage, and it is said that he preferred this position to that which he had left at Brewood on account of its proximity to Oxford, which he frequently visited, and sometimes he preached before the University.

His first publication was a University sermon, preached on October 25, 1783, printed at Stafford in 1784. The text was taken from Prov. xxi. 21, 'My son, fear thou the Lord.' After holding up to admiration our Government and Monarchy, he says: 'It is true that an unfortunate and expensive war' (the American War) 'has brought upon the people immense burdens, but the censorious must confess that those burdens fall upon a part of the community best able to bear them. And if the weight of them shall be instrumental in restraining luxury and encouraging industry, even our misfortune may turn to our advantage.' In this sermon he gives evidence of those strong Tory principles which he maintained throughout his life.

He was an ardent supporter of the connection between Church and State as it then existed, and, as we shall see, he defended the 'Test Act.' During his residence at St. Martin's Parsonage, which continued till his death, it is said that he enlivened it with great

hospitality. And he was much respected on account of the interest which he took in all the public business of the town. The poor resorted to his house for advice and assistance, and he devoted so much time and attention to the widows and orphans of soldiers and sailors, in forwarding their claims to Government, that he was commonly, but most unjustly supposed, amongst the ignorant, to have had a regular salary for his trouble.

At Arncliffe his duties as vicar were performed by a resident curate, but it was difficult for Dr. Croft, living so far away in the South, to preserve always peace and harmony amongst his parishioners. In fact, from a few letters which have been preserved for more than a hundred years in the Vicarage, we learn that, on more than one occasion, complaints were made by the parishioners through the churchwardens to their absentee vicar. Sometimes these complaints were treated as frivolous, and only brought upon the parishioners a sharp reprimand from the reverend doctor, who, in one of his letters, finishes by congratulating himself that he was able, through having scholastic work, to live away from those who were far from agreeable. Other matters which gave him trouble at Arncliffe were the collection of the tithe, the conduct of his curate, and the services of the church. On August 10, 1790, he writes the following letter from Brewood to one of his churchwardens :

‘SIR,

‘I should have thought myself obliged to you if you had come to me and shewn me upon what plea



you claim an exemption from tithe. If your land was before barren, if you had been put to great expense in manuring and making it fit for tillage, you have a right to be free from the payment. But if this ground was good pasture, if it produced lamb or wool, or was in any way titheable, under those circumstances you are at least obliged to pay as much as you would have done had it not been broken up. On this business I have taken an opinion, and if you mean to act like an honest man, you will fairly say what expenses you have been at, and you shall always experience in me the fairest and most open dealing. With regard to the Leads of the Church, I desired that Mr. Preston would do the Leads as they ought to be done, not wishing to be under the necessity of presenting them (the churchwardens) at the next visitation. And I hope I shall hear no more of putting slate in the place of lead, because if I do, I will write to the Archdeacon (the Archbishop having nothing to do with it except near the time of his visitation), and he will either visit, or appoint others to visit, the church and compel you at a great additional expense to repair the Leads and the timber as you ought. You are the more inexcusable in neglecting this business because you have lands to pay the expense. I have desired the workmen to do my part of the repairs, and I hope they have done them. You have relations who are Clergymen ; consult them, and they will tell you that you cannot insist upon the Church being served otherwise than according to custom. (During the eighteenth century in Arncliffe Church there was only one service on Sundays, as the curate also served the Chapel of Hubberholme on the same



day.) Old Mr. Tennant always served Arncliffe and Hubberholme together. I was two days in the Parish. Why did you not complain to myself? I could have gone with you to the Archbishop. And to point out how absurd you are about residence, when I took the Living the Archbishop said there could not be a better excuse for non-residence than the care of a school. To this school I am licensed, and also to a perpetual curacy; the attendance upon each will be a sufficient excuse even in a Court of Law. And in the court of conscience, in the mind of every thinking person, there is not a more useful employment than that of instructing others. Go, then, to the Archbishop, if you chuse it, and ask him what he thinks. If your Church had been a sufficient maintenance, I might have been free from the troublesome office of teaching. With your present disposition to quarrel because I only ask what is my due, I think myself happy in living at a distance, and still more in having two excuses for doing so, which no Court of Law will set aside.

‘I am, sir,

‘Your most obedient humble servant,

‘G. CROFT.’

With reference to the complaints made by parishioners as to his curate and the small number of services, he writes:

‘BREWOOD,

‘24th Nov., 1790.

‘It was no small disappointment to me that Mr. B. would not agree to the reference proposed, but has

rested the matter entirely upon me. I have therefore referred him to the Archdeacon, to whom I may myself write in a post or two, although I do not absolutely engage to do so. In order to give you as plain an account as I can of the difficulty I am under, I wish to tell you in a few words what the points were which the two gentlemen would have had stated, and upon which they were to have decided. The first and most material was, What has been the customary duty of Arncliffe for the last 70 or 80 years? Did Mr. Tennant (Vicar of Arncliffe from 1681 to 1732), the father, serve Hubberholme usually with Arncliffe or no? Can anything be inferred from Mr. Kay's short incumbency (1732 to 1737), and what? Did Mr. Chapman (Vicar from 1737 to 1764) always employ a Curate at Hubberholme, or was it a disordered state of body and mind which caused him to employ Mr. Wilson both at Hubberholme and Arncliffe? Did not Mr. Tennant, the last Vicar (from 1765 to 1779), employ a curate of Hubberholme, Mr. Ibbotson, the elder, to do his duty at Arncliffe along with that of the Chapel? Does the addition of the tithes, a donation of the College, come at all under the observation of the Ecclesiastical powers? Was not Hubberholme Chapel a portion of the Vicarage of Arncliffe, and only separated to obtain the Queen's Bounty, and the separation of the care of Hubberholme from the care of Arncliffe lay upon the Curate of the one or the Vicar of the other? I should be much obliged to you if you would desire one or both of the gentlemen to examine these points, because, though I am much indebted to the Archdeacon for his favourable opinion, yet I am not yet convinced that

less duty is done than has usually been done ; and if people on weekdays in Lent be so inattentive as not to go to Church, I think, whatever the former custom might be, a Clergyman cannot be expected to read to the bare walls. The nine Sundays neglect of Hubberholme I find was only three, and Mr. —, of Kettlewell, was engaged for the fourth, and got drunk on the way. I have before hinted why Hubberholme and Arncliffe were joined together—not that the Curate of Hubberholme should support the Curate of Arncliffe, but that the Curate of Arncliffe should support the Curate of Hubberholme. I have the credit of the Church so much at heart that neither the Curacy of Halton Gill, nor of Hubberholme, shall in future stand alone ; for whatever becomes of the present question, one person shall either have the two Chapels, or the Curates of the Chapels shall divide the Curacy of Arncliffe between them. . . . I am obliged to you for the assistance you are kind enough to promise respecting the Church, but I must take time to consider the comparative difference between Lead and Slate. In which I shall ask experienced workmen, and if they give an opinion in favour of slate, I have a friend who will tell me how far the Ecclesiastical Court can allow of the alteration ; subject as the valley is to violent hurricanes, there may be reasons upon the spot which workmen do not advert to. Desirous as I am to proceed upon all points with moderation, I cannot forbear blaming the Parishioners for not acquainting me at the beginning, and finding some difficulties now which did not exist then. I hope you will consult the wisest Clergyman you can meet with (if Mr. Dawson or Mr. Wilson cannot conveniently favour us with their



sentiments), and give them a statement of facts. This opinion will be deemed a favour by,

‘Sir,

‘Your very obedient servant,

‘G. C.’

On September 1, 1790, he writes from Brewood :

‘SIR,

‘By some delay in the Post I did not receive your first letter with the names of the Parishioners annexed till Saturday last. With respect to your tithes, I had sent J. H. such a general direction as would not only enable him to judge of your case, but of all of the same kind. There is therefore an end of that claim. And I repeat it again, that had you stated to me before what you have now stated, I should not have hesitated a moment.

‘The Act of Parliament by which you are exempted for seven years was founded in the strictest justice. The notice paper was not meant for your case, because I consulted Counsel upon it, and received my answer upon my return home. With respect to the duty of the Church and Mr. B., I have frequently lamented that the complaints were not made when I entered upon the living. He had then lived eight or nine years amongst you, and the only wish seemed to be that he would teach a school, from which I concluded the Parish had a favourable opinion of him. As I shall be sorry to be thought covetous or mercenary, I wish to remind you that his salary is £40 per annum from me. He pays me £10 for the land he holds, which he says is rather dear, but he has part of the house for nothing.



You cannot but know that the increase which was made to the Living was a gift from the College, and is no part of the original endowment. What the College gave it may take away, and were I to entail upon the Vicar of Arncliffe more duty than was originally done by old Mr. Tennant, Mr. Kaye, and Mr. Chapman, he would have reason to complain. With respect to the duty in Lent and Saints' Days, I requested Mr. B. five years ago, when the first complaint came, to do it regularly, and nothing can be an excuse for his omitting it but the want of a congregation. The first year I came into this county I read prayers in Lent in my Church, but never finding more than seven at one time, I no longer deemed it to be public worship, and so dropped it. How far this observation does or would apply to Arncliffe I cannot say. We do not expect crowded Churches on weekdays, but we do expect something like public worship. I have a difficulty in Mr. B.'s case which none of you are aware of. He was licensed to serve the Church. If he does the accustomed duty at Arncliffe I know not whether I can dismiss him. If the congregation at Hubberholme have any complaints against him they must carry them to the Archbishop or Archdeacon at the Visitation. This Chapel was formerly united with the Parish Church and served along with it, but it is now separated for the sake of the Queen's Bounty, to which it could not otherwise be entitled. And however I shall act at present, I shall take care if a vacancy happen during my Incumbency that a future Curate of Hubberholme shall either serve Halton Gill in part, or Arncliffe in part, that the smallness of the salary at Hubberholme may never be held out as an

excuse for admitting improper persons into Orders. This excuse was, however, made eight or nine years before I had Arncliffe by the Archbishop's Chaplain when I was ordained Deacon. You, some of you, seem to think the Living of Arncliffe a handsome thing. It is £80 per annum less than I was taught to expect, and everything is good in proportion to what a man by a little patience may obtain. A single year's waiting would have given me a much better. As Curate of a Church in the East Riding of Yorkshire I received no more than £40 per annum, though I read prayers every Sunday afternoon except in bad weather or on some urgent occasion. But I had little satisfaction in so doing, for they were very ill-attended, though not one of my hearers was further from the church than a quarter of a mile, most of them as near as the village of Arncliffe.

‘I am clearly of opinion that the Church ought to be leaded: (The church at this time was covered with lead. Dr. Croft alludes to the proposed rebuilding of the church, which was soon to be undertaken, when the leaden roof was replaced by slates, in spite of the Vicar's wishes.) Nor do I think the higher powers—that is, either the Archbishop or Archdeacon—would suffer an alteration. If you are not a Churchwarden you have much less reason to be surprised that I had not consulted you. In matters where Churchwardens and Parishioners have a discretionary power, both decency and civility require that they should be consulted. But they have no such power here. They might be compelled if the case appeared critical and dangerous. The Blasts of another winter might have been followed

by very disagreeable effects. I have directed every repair to be done which belonged to me, and surely had a very good right to enforce with the Parish what I had exemplified in my own conduct. . . .’

I give these letters, not because all the contents are of public interest, but rather as illustrating the way in which Churchmen regarded Church affairs in the eighteenth century. There are those amongst us—*—laudatores temporis acti*—who say that the world and the Church went very well then; there are others who refuse to see any virtue, and anything of good report, in that age. Documents like these, which have just been put before the reader, as they come to light, will do more than anything else towards giving us the data upon which we can form a just estimate of the conduct of affairs in Church and State at that critical period of the nation’s life. We, in the twentieth century, read with astonishment, some of the statements which appear in these letters, and the admissions which are made, and perhaps we are inclined to criticise the actions of the writers; but we must try to place ourselves in imagination in their position: we must not forget their surroundings and traditions, and then we shall be able to judge more kindly of a period which had some special difficulties of which we have no experience. In these letters there is frequent reference to the condition of the fabric of the church at Arncliffe. In the year 1795 the parishioners, with the advice and assistance of the Vicar, determined to rebuild the church, with the exception of the tower, which, with the other parts of the fabric, had been erected (on the site of a



Norman church) in the early years of the sixteenth century. It was not an easy matter for a comparatively poor country parish to achieve this. There were no wealthy landowners living in the parish, and the population consisted chiefly of small yeomen, farmers, and cottagers. So recourse was had to the usual method of raising money for such purposes in those days, by a 'Brief.'

Some of my readers will remember that there is still an allusion to 'Briefs' in the rubric after the Creed in the Communion Service of the Book of Common Prayer. If a 'Brief' were required the churchwardens and some of the chief parishioners would go before the magistrates at Quarter Sessions, and the case would be examined, and, if it was thought fit, letters patent would be issued by the King, and collections would be made in all the churches in the area specified in the 'Brief.' In the case of Arncliffe Church, collections were made in the counties of York, Derby, Chester, Lancaster, Leicester, Lincoln, and Nottingham.

As such documents are rarely now to be met with, the text of the 'Brief' is here given :

'Represented as well upon the humble petition of the Minister, Churchwardens, and principal inhabitants of the Parish of Arncliffe in the West Riding, as by certificate under the hand of the Justices of the Peace assembled at the Quarter Sessions of the Peace at Skipton on Tuesday, July 19, 36 George III., 1796, that the Parish Church of Arncliffe is a very ancient structure and greatly decayed in every part, and, that notwithstanding the inhabitants have done all in their power to keep the



Church in repair, yet the same through length of time is now become so ruinous that it cannot any longer be supported, but must be wholly taken down and rebuilt. The truth of the premises made to appear at Quarter Sessions by the oath of Thomas Corlass, an able and experienced architect, who hath carefully viewed the Church, and made an estimate of the charge of taking down and rebuilding the same, which, upon a moderate computation, amounts to the sum of £567 10s. 9½d., exclusive of the old material, which sum the said inhabitants are not able to raise among themselves, being mostly tenants and labourers, and burthened with a numerous poor, and therefore incapable of undertaking so great a work without the charitable assistance of well-disposed Christians. Trustees and Receivers : Thomas Garforth, William Waineman, Mathew Wilson, Peter Garforth, and Thomas Brown, Esquires ; Charles Tindal, Charles Cart, William Stevenson, and John Stevenson, Gentlemen, and the Minister and Churchwardens for the time being' (*Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, part 61).

How much was collected by 'Brief' I have not been able to ascertain ; but from an old account I am able to give the cost of rebuilding the church, which will compare very favourably with the cost of such a building in the present day.

It seems that the old materials, including, I suppose, the old lead, sold for £276 1s. 1d. The estimate made at the time of the 'Brief' amounted to £845 12s. 10½d. It will be interesting to record the items, which were as follows :

|   | £                       | s. | d. |
|---|-------------------------|----|----|
| Mason work ... ..   | 230                     | 14 | 6  |
| Roof ... ..   | 104                     | 0  | 0  |
| Lead for trough and flashes ...   | 27                      | 4  | 6  |
| Ridge Roof lead ... ..  | 16                      | 13 | 9  |
| Slating ... ..  | 72                      | 0  | 0  |
| Glass and Sashes ... ..   | 80                      | 15 | 3  |
| Seeling ... ..  | 29                      | 19 | 0  |
| Reeding Desk, Clerk's Desk,<br>Pulpit, Alter Rails, Alter<br>Table ... .. | 47                      | 10 | 0  |
| Seats according to the plan ...   | 160                     | 13 | 0  |
| 520½ yards two coat plaister on<br>Walls at 9d. ... ..                    | 19                      | 10 | 4½ |
| Do. on Seeling and Cornish ...  | 34                      | 2  | 6  |
| Vestry door ... ..  | 1                       | 10 | 0  |
| Steeple pointing ... ..   | 7                       | 10 | 0  |
| Taking off old lead and wood ...  | 5                       | 4  | 0  |
| Four doors ... ..   | 8                       | 5  | 0  |
|   | <hr/> <hr/> £845 11 10½ |    |    |

And there is a further estimate for 'extra work' amounting to £79. Unfortunately, as there was a non-resident Vicar, nothing but economy was studied. The rebuilding was accomplished in the worst taste possible, after designs which were too common in the eighteenth century, and in a style which has been described as 'Churchwarden's Gothic.' In this case a pretty, sixteenth-century, Perpendicular - Gothic church, with pillars and a north aisle, was replaced by a hideous structure of oblong shape, with modern-looking wooden sash windows, and a flat ceiling instead

of the timber roof. The old and elegant proportions of the chancel were swept away to make room for high pews, and a three-decker. Dr. Whitaker, who visited the valley shortly after the rebuilding of the church, describes what had been done in caustic language, in which he gives vent to his indignation, and he shows, by his remarks, that he was far in advance of his day in his knowledge of the true principles of ecclesiastical architecture. And, as the Gothic revival in architecture took place a few years after his death, chiefly in the first instance under Mr. Pugin, it is plain that he anticipated, with a prophet's eye, the great change which was shortly to pass over the country in this respect. Dr. Whitaker says: 'The Church itself, growing ruinous, was lately taken down, excepting the tower, and rebuilt with all the attention to economy and all the neglect both of modern elegance and ancient form which characterizes the religious edifices of the present day. If the disposition of our ancient Churches cannot be adhered to, if modern art can no longer imitate the solemn effect produced by clustered columns and pointed arches, by the dignified separation of family chantries and the long perspective of a choir and the rich tracery of its ramified window, surely the genius of an Establishment calls for something in its most frugal erection more imposing than bare walls and unbroken surfaces—something at least that may inform the stranger that he is not putting his head into a conventicle. Even the rubric requires that chancels shall remain as they have done in times past. It would be well if all plans of new Churches, or the rebuilding of old ones, were subject to the immediate cognisance of the Ordinary or



the Archdeacon. At present the business is usually transacted between a selfish vestry and a junto of ignorant masons, while the faculty is granted, as a matter of course, by those who have no object but their fees.' After remarking that the age of Henry I. and of Henry VII. were the two great eras of church-building in Craven, he continues: 'The present reign (George III.) may be considered as the third era of Church-building amongst us. Of the last, what can be said but that, excepting weakness and deformity, it has no character at all?—a plain, oblong, ill-constructed building without aisles, choir, columns, battlements, or buttresses, the roof a wainscotting of deal, the covering of slate, and the walls running down with wet. To the builders of such edifices the scoff of Tobiah the Ammonite may justly be applied: "That which they do build, if a fox go up, he shall even break down." It is but lately that this spirit has shown itself in Craven, and, indeed, the Church of Arncliffe is as yet the only perfect specimen of it.' About thirty years later Kettlewell Church was rebuilt in the same style.

Then follow some very severe remarks upon the bad taste shown in the destruction of ancient features in the restoration of buildings at that period, and some sound principles are set forth which have been generally acted upon by every judicious restorer in more recent times. If we cannot say that Dr. Croft was very successful in using his influence with the parishioners of Arncliffe towards a more conservative spirit in the rebuilding of their church, it must not be forgotten, that in addition to his scholastic duties at Brewood and his parochial labours at Birmingham, he was constantly engaged in



literary work. He printed no less than seven various publications dealing chiefly with theological matters, and questions of the day. In 1784 he published at Wolverhampton 'A Plan of Education Delineated and Vindicated. To which are added a Letter to a Young Gentleman designed for the University and for Holy Orders, and a Short Dissertation upon the State, Provision and Reasonable Expectation of Public Teachers.' But the Bampton Lectures which he preached at Oxford in 1786 may be considered as his *magnum opus*. These lectures are eight in number, and they deal, as the will of the founder of the lectures (John Bampton, Canon of Salisbury) directs, with subjects which are calculated 'to confirm or establish the Christian Faith.' Dr. Croft gives the following titles to his discourses: 'Objections against Inspiration considered.' 'The Authority of the Ancient Fathers examined.' 'On the Conduct of the First Reformers.' 'The Charge of Intolerance in the Church of England refuted.' 'Objections against the Liturgy answered.' 'On the Evils of Separation.' 'The Present State of Religion, with some Conjectural Remarks upon Prophecies to be fulfilled hereafter.'

In this volume he is a staunch defender of the position which we often hear spoken of now as the 'Reformation Settlement.' On the question of patronage, he says, quoting a learned prelate: 'I must observe to you that in parishes and places where people chuse their own ministers, there are the greatest feuds and passions remarkable—as unqualified ministers as in other places, and perhaps it may also be said the greatest number of Dissenters from the Established Church. Nothing hath been the cause of greater violence and strife and

ill-will among neighbours than this choice; and the time of election is commonly the time of heat and anger, and it ends often in a bad choice and in the alienation of the minds of many men from their brethren, and from their minister, worthy or not worthy.' Of the use of externals in worship, he says: 'Of externals in general, we can only say that excess should be avoided; that in our own Church it has been avoided; that our ceremonies are few and expressive; that our vestments are suited to the nature of the sacred function; that in all important offices it is necessary to distinguish between the individual and the public character he sustains; that some of the Dissenters have acknowledged the use of sacerdotal habits by partly adopting them, and the less we assimilate the outward circumstances of worship to the outward circumstances of common life, the greater reverence we shall express in the congregation of the faithful.' He deprecates attention to trifles in religion in these pregnant words: 'Men little consider that so much attention paid to things of inferior moment, by disputing their use and propriety, creates an indifference to the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith. In the common transactions of life we deem it an argument of a contracted and a mean understanding to dwell upon minute circumstances, or to consume much time and labour in adjusting even slight inaccuracies. The eye which is very microscopic is seldom very comprehensive. The Christian who is rich in good works may be compared to the rich Householder. Minuteness concerning trifles would in each of them be meanness.' With regard to the observance of Sunday in his day, he utters words which show that the laxity

of which we now complain, as if it were peculiar to our own times, was not unknown at the end of the eighteenth century. 'To avoid puritanical severity, do we not seek pleasure? Do we not imitate the practice of the Continent, and render that ordinance the means of corruption which was intended to be the means of animating our piety and strengthening our virtue? The salutary laws enacted for the better observation of the Lord's Day are little attended to and but seldom executed, and they whose time is most in their own power are the most notorious delinquents. Without any reverence for the service of the Church, without any compassion for beast or man, they hasten forward to business or recreation, which might be postponed or omitted, or they are wearied out with the tediousness of the day, which yet is accompanied with no painful nor rigorous seclusion from rational society.'

On the whole, the Bampton Lectures of 1786 may be said to have been quite up to the average of the lectures which were preached from the same foundation at that period. In 1790 there appeared from his pen a sermon preached at St. Philip's Church, Birmingham, on a Sunday in January, under the title of 'The Test Laws defended,' with a preface containing remarks on Dr. Price's Revolution Sermon, and other publications. The text is from 2 Tim. ii. 21. Speaking of the religious condition of the country generally, he says: 'The increase of Deism on the one hand and Methodism on the other is owing to causes which no denomination of Christians can prevent or destroy—the luxury of high life. the profligacy of low life, the lukewarmness of some, the love of novelty in others.' The whole sermon is



a strong protest against the proposed abolition of the 'Tests,' founded on an historical survey of the previous character and actions of those who were supposed to hold principles subversive of the connection, as it then existed, between Church and State. Apparently the sermon attracted some attention, and one of his critics, the Rev. S. Hobson, remarks: 'There are persons in Birmingham who deem your Sermon a masterpiece of composition, and for accuracy of reasoning against the repeal of the Test Laws not to be equalled.' The sermon was, however, severely criticised by his opponents, and not without a certain amount of personal abuse. One of them writes: 'I need not tell you that the titles of a 'thing in black' have an influence peculiar to themselves, and that an error falling from the mouth of plain George Croft falls to rise no more; that the same error from the mouth or pen of George Croft, D.D., gains consideration; that should the Vicar of Arncliffe and Chaplain of the Earl of Elgin assert it, it moves from the limit of error into the boundaries of truth.'

Three years later (1793) there appeared another pamphlet from his pen. This time he comes forward as a Tory politician who is opposed to the extension of the franchise. The pamphlet is entitled, 'Plans of Parliamentary Reform, proved to be visionary,' in a letter to the Rev. C. Wyvill, late Chairman of Associations. It was printed at Birmingham. He argues against the extension of the franchise because of the tumult, riot, idleness, and ebriety which ensues. He also maintains that it is fitting that only those who exercise the suffrage with propriety, decency, and peace, should be allowed to vote. He adds: 'Many of you



have assumed, as a fundamental proposition, that every subject of this kingdom having a claim to life and liberty, as well as to the produce of his labour, should, of consequence, have a right to vote for a representative. That such a right was once exercised cannot be denied. But the 8th of Henry VI., C. 7 will shew why that right in county elections was taken away.' He is strongly in favour of members of Parliament being allowed to vote according to their convictions, even if opposed to those of their constituents. On this subject he quotes Edmund Burke, who says : 'It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfaction to theirs, and, above all, ever and in all cases to prefer their interest to his own. But his unbiassed opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any men, to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure ; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes to you not only his industry, but his judgment, and he betrays instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.' The noble sentiments of the great orator are worthy of the consideration of our politicians, and if they had been generally acted upon, the pages of our national history for the last hundred years would have contained more noble deeds of political heroism. Dr. Croft adds the following quaint adage :

' If my suffrage can't be free,  
St. Stephens were a gaol to me.'

The pamphlet bears throughout traces of the author's

strong Tory principles, and we feel as we read it that the writer was a child of the eighteenth century.

The next production from his pen appeared in 1795, 'Thoughts concerning the Methodists and the Established Clergy.' 8vo., London. In this work he severely criticises the labours of the Methodist teachers. He admits that in some places they had done good, but he calls them to account for some strong and unfair words which they had used, at that time, against the clergy of the Church of England. In 1803 he made his final literary effort. The work contains 'A Short Commentary with Strictures on Certain Parts of the Moral Writings of Dr. Paley and Mr. Gisborne. To which are added Observations on the Duties of Trustees and Conductors of Grammar Schools, and Sermons on Purity of Principle and the Penal Laws.' 8vo., Birmingham.

He commences with an apology in the spirit of the Roman poet. 'Cum de se loquitur non ut majore': 'I sincerely declare that I enter not into general competition with divines whose leisure and information are so much superior. But it happens in literary composition as in architecture, inferior talent will discover slighter defects and oversights which have escaped the observation of great and comprehensive minds.' He ably defends Dr. Paley's principle, in his moral philosophy, of expediency against the strictures of Mr. Gisborne. But Dr. Croft disagrees with Paley in his advocacy of indiscriminate almsgiving. He says, while we relieve their wants, we corrupt their morals. Paley's celebrated comparison of the 'pigeon' is censured by the Vicar of Arncliffe as not being true when applied to human society, and also as dangerous in its tendency.

The work abounds in shrewd observations on many subjects connected with the Church. He shows himself in advance of his age when he says: 'It were devoutly to be wished that the Convocation was allowed to sit, in order that no improper, no hasty, no ill-digested Bill might be brought into Parliament wherein the Clergy are immediately or remotely concerned.' The Church had to wait fifty years before the Doctor's wish was fulfilled. Speaking of the condition of the clergy, he says: 'Every clergyman should sustain the twofold character of a diligent scholar and conscientious pastor,—he may be forewarned with propriety to remain ever mindful of both—otherwise even his regular attendance on the Church may carry him into useless engagements and an improper waste of time. With a laudable purpose of cultivating the acquaintance of his parishioners, he may gradually glide into tedious and unnecessary visits, and in acquiring a little popularity as a worthy neighbour may sink into forgetfulness of his learning and his books.'

In 1802 he received preferment from his old friend Lord Eldon by his appointment to the Rectory of Thwing in the East Riding, which the Archbishop of York allowed him to hold with Arncliffe by dispensation. He is said to have had considerable attainments as a classical scholar, and was well versed in Hebrew and Syriac and in some modern languages, and he had an extensive acquaintance with ecclesiastical law. His moral character was without reproach, and he showed himself a dutiful son by supporting his parents in their declining years; and he proved his generosity by extending similar support to an infirm and aged uncle. He died at Birmingham in 1809.



In Dr. Croft we have a bright example of one who, being richly endowed with talents, made the best of his opportunities, and by a careful use of his abilities and by great industry, discharged his duties with much zeal, and served his own generation faithfully. A monument was erected in St. Martin's Church, Birmingham, which bears the following inscription :

‘To the memory of the Rev. G. Croft, D.D. This tablet is erected by the Congregation of S. Martin's in testimony of their gratitude for his valuable services as their Lecturer during a period of 18 years ; of their respect for his learning as a scholar and his zeal as a supporter of the Establishment in Church and State ; of their esteem for his integrity as a man, his hospitality as a neighbour, his active and unwearied benevolence as a counsellor of the poor, and his virtues in private life as a husband and father. He was a native of Yorkshire, Rector of Thwing, and Vicar of Arncliffe in that County, and some time Fellow of University College in Oxon, and formerly Head Master of Brewood School in Staffordshire. He died an inhabitant of Birmingham, xi. of May, 1809, aged 62, and was interred in this aisle.’

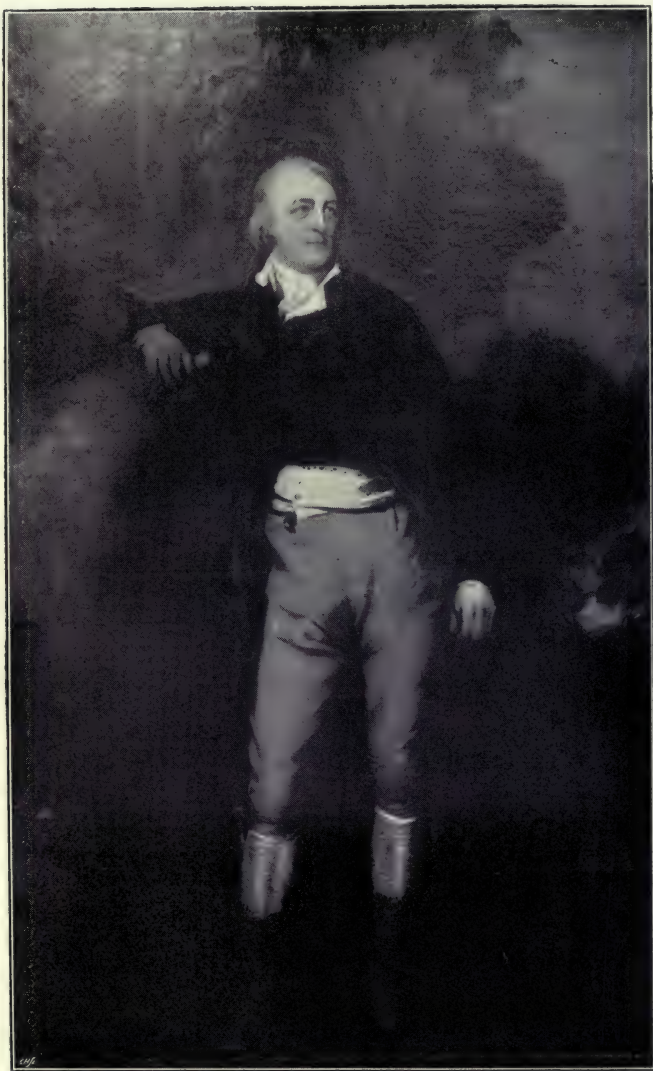
In 1811, two volumes of his sermons, including a series of discourses on the Minor Prophets, which he had preached before the University of Oxford, were published, with a brief sketch of the author's life, by the Rev. Rann Kennedy of Birmingham Grammar School.



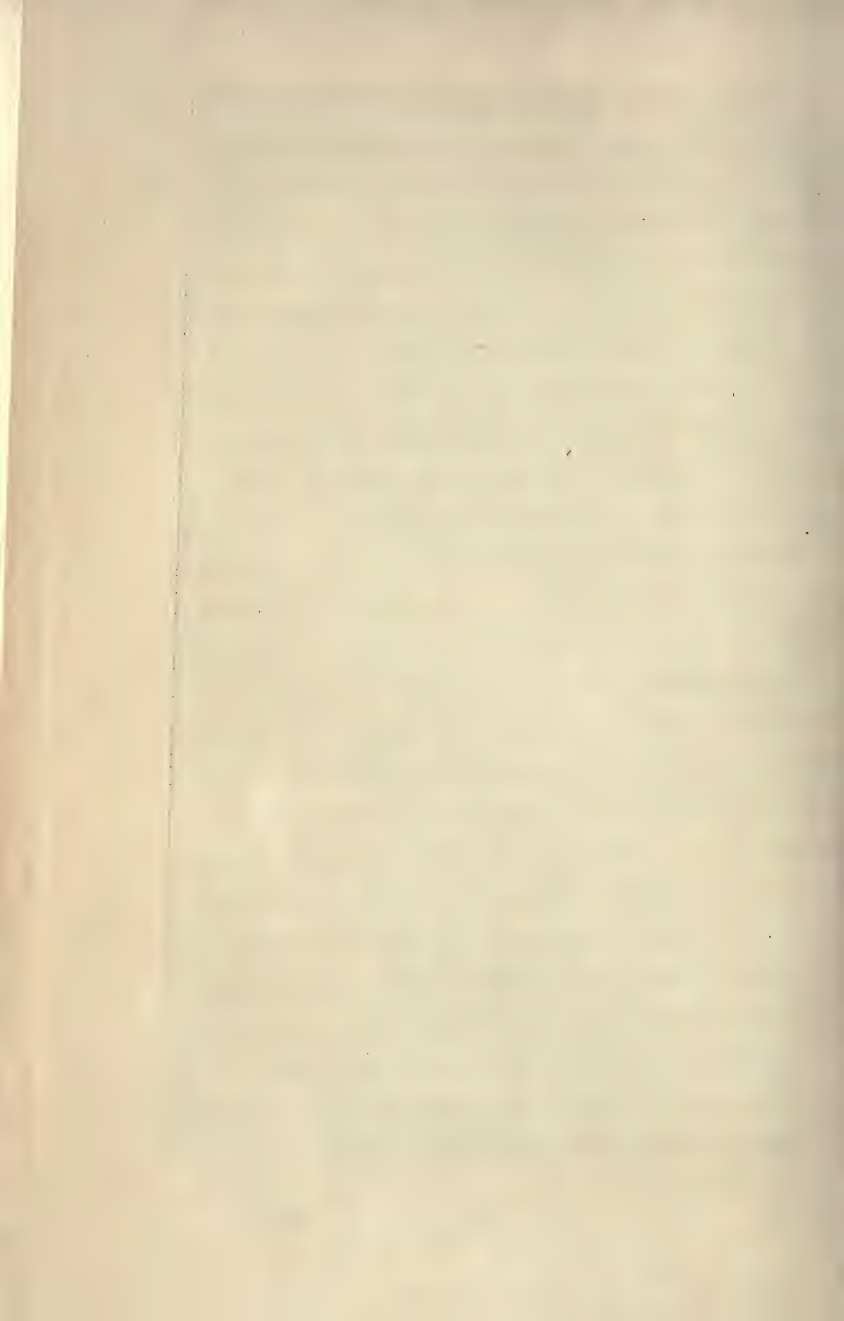
## THE FIRST BARON RIBBLESDALE

‘Sound, sound the clarion, fill the fife !  
To all the sensual world proclaim,  
One crowded hour of glorious life  
Is worth an age without a name.’

THE river Ribble, which, like the Aire and Wharfe, rises within the confines of Craven, is nowhere seen to more advantage, as it makes its sinuous course to the sea, than when viewed from the elevated terrace on which stands Gisburne House, the home of the Lister family. For nearly six hundred years the name has been known amongst the landowners of this district. There are few families now resident in Craven which can boast of such a long list of ancestors descending in the male line and remaining in the same parish, and finally obtaining one of the few peerages which have been bestowed on Craven men. The first of this name of whom we have any record was Sir Thomas Lister, whose son John married Isabel, daughter and heiress of John de Bolton, Bowbearer of Bolland, in the year 1312. Through this marriage he became possessed of lands on the borders of the Ribble. From this Sir Thomas Lister the subject of this memoir was the eighteenth in lineal descent. On the female side the



THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS LISTER,  
THE FIRST BARON RIBBLESDALE.



Listers can claim a much more remote and distinguished ancestry. For Isabel de Bolton, it is said, was descended through the illustrious families of Clare, Gant, and Roumare, from the old Saxon Earls of Mercia, William de Roumare, one of the great Norman Barons, having after the Conquest married Lucy, sister and heiress of Edwin, the last Earl, and thereby possessing, as it is quoted by Sir W. Dugdale in his 'Monasticon,' 'Cravenam et Couplandiam et Allerdale et Cockeram jure hereditario.' The two most distinguished members of this family in the seventeenth century were Sir Martin Lister, the fifth son of Sir W. Lister, of Thornton, a celebrated Court physician, and his grand-nephew, Mr. Martin Lister, who attained a high reputation as a student of natural history and medicine (*cf.* Collins' 'Peerage,' vol. viii., p. 585).

Arnoldsbiggin, a house which stood on an elevated situation to the south-west of Gisburne, was the original home of the Listers; but in the early part of the seventeenth century the present edifice in Gisburne Park was erected as a more elegant and commodious residence. This mansion received several additions in the eighteenth century, when the oval dining-room was built by the first Lord Ribblesdale, and decorated by Mr. Adam, who is said himself to have worked at the vine stalks, which stand out and away from the frieze, at the same time that he did his work at Nostell Priory. Some very handsome ceilings and mural plaster work in the French style were also placed on the staircase, entrance-hall, and in the suite of rooms on the east and south sides of the house at Gisburne.

In August of the year 1648, Oliver Cromwell passed



a night at this house (*cf.* 'Life of Lambert,' p. 32) when he was on his way to Preston, where he defeated the Marquis of Hamilton. The room in which the Protector slept is still pointed out to visitors. And no doubt he would meet with a hearty welcome from the inmates of Gisburne—Sir John and Lady (formerly Mrs. Lister, the widow of Mr. T. Lister) Assheton, as they were almost neighbours to General Lambert.

The park at Gisburne was for a long time celebrated for a herd of wild cattle, descendants of the indigenous breed which once crowded the forests of Lancashire. This species, being without horns, differs from those which existed at Lyme, in Cheshire, and at Chillingham Castle, in Northumberland. They were white, save the tips of their noses, which were usually red or brown, and not black, as has been stated by Dr. Whitaker (*cf.* Appendix). They are said to have been mischievous, and insidious in approaching the object of their resentment. The last of the breed was killed in 1859. A head of one of these cattle is preserved in the ancient kitchen at Gisburne.

Thomas Lister, the first member of this family who was raised to the peerage, was born at Gisburne on March 11, 1752. His mother's name was Beatrix, daughter of Jesop Hulton, Esq., of Hulton Park, co. Lancaster. She died in 1774. When he was only nine years of age he had the misfortune to lose his father, Mr. Thomas Lister, M.P. for Clitheroe. He was educated at Westminster School, and proceeded to Oxford at the early age of seventeen. He matriculated at Brasenose College (May 2, 1769), which has always been a favourite resort with the gentlemen of Lancashire

and its borders. What Oxford life was like at the time when Thomas Lister went to the University has been graphically related by a well-known writer, who says: 'The undergraduates (in 1770) rose early, but spent their days in idleness. Practically the Colleges were without discipline. Tutors gave no lectures. It is difficult to divine how a studiously disposed youth was to learn anything. "I should like to read some Greek," said John Miller, of Worcester, thirty years later. "Well, and what do you want to read?" "Some Sophocles." "Then come to-morrow morning at nine o'clock." He went and read 100 lines, but could never again effect an entrance.

'This state of things was effectually remedied by the examination statute and by the publication of the Class List, but neither came into effect until the year 1801. The dinner-hour was two, and for an hour previous impatient shouts of "Tonsor! Tonsor!" were to be heard from every casement. The study, or inner room, was reserved for the "powdering." Blue coats, studded with bright buttons, shorts, and buckles, were the established costume. A passage from Scripture was read during dinner, the last lingering trace of the ancient practice enjoined till yesterday by statute, of having the Bible read during meals. At eight all supped on broiled bones and beer. There was not to be seen till long after a carpet in a single Oxford Common Room. What need to add that undergraduates were without carpets? Every academic of any fashion resorted to the coffee-house during the afternoon. The dons frequented some adjoining tavern or coffee-house. Mr. James Wyatt's premises in the High Street (known

at that time as "Tom's Coffee-house") were the favourite resort of seniors and juniors alike. The undergraduates drank and smoked in the front room below as well as in the large room overhead, which looks down on the street. The older men, the choice spirits of the University, formed themselves into a club, which met in a small inner apartment on the ground-floor (remembered as the "House of Lords"), where they also regaled themselves with pipes, beer, and wine.' The writer goes on to say that the coarseness and low moral tone which pervaded England was not absent from the Universities (*cf.* Burgon's 'Lives of Twelve Good Men,' pp. 5, 6).

In such surroundings the young Craven student remained until the year 1772, when he was created M.A., and a year later (July 8, 1773) he took the degree of D.C.L. As soon as he came of age, on his return to Craven he entered on his political life. His uncle, Nathaniel Lister, of Armitage, who since his brother's death had represented in Parliament the family borough of Clitheroe, accepted the Chiltern Hundreds to make room for the young heir, who was, accordingly, returned to Parliament as one of the members for Clitheroe. He was returned again in 1774, in 1780, and in 1784. In 1790 he retired. In the House of Commons he supported the Coalition Administration, which consisted of the Whig followers of Fox with the Tories who still clung to Lord North.

It has been said that the course of true love never did run smooth. The same may be said in many cases of political life, and so Mr. Lister must have found it. The borough of Clitheroe returned two members to



Parliament. It was at that time what was called a 'pocket-borough.' The possessions and interest of the Lister, family in that place were so considerable that they were able to retain both seats in their own family. In the year 1780 the two members were Mr. Thomas Lister, and his brother-in-law, Mr. John Parker, of Browsholme. It appears from a curious pamphlet in the British Museum, entitled, 'An Answer to the Apology for the Conduct of Thomas Lister, Esq., respecting the Borough of Clitheroe,' 4to., n.d., that the election of Mr. Parker was the cause of a quarrel in the family. Mr. Lister's grandfather had married a daughter of Sir Ralph Assheton, and a Mr. Curzon the other daughter of the same Sir Ralph. By the marriages of these co-heiresses the family of Lister had increased their interest in the borough, and for some time the two families of Lister and Curzon had divided between themselves the representation of Clitheroe in the House of Commons. The election of Mr. John Parker in 1780, with the consent and through the interest of Mr. Lister, and as his co-member, caused a remonstrance on the part of the Curzon family, and apparently, Mr. Lister had to vindicate his connection with, and his influence in, the borough from the aspersions cast upon his conduct in supporting Mr. Parker by writing a statement of the case, and showing that he was quite at liberty to act as he had done with regard to the political representation of Clitheroe.

It has been thought well to allude to this little episode in his career, as the pamphlet mentioned gives some interesting facts respecting the Listers' connection with Clitheroe. The author of the apology asserts that



it can be proved by vouchers that the family had large estates in the neighbourhood, and lived at Middop, and Eadisford, which is within a mile of Clitheroe, in the beginning of the reign of Edward III. By an inquisition taken in the sixteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, on the death of Thomas Lister, of Arnolds-biggings, Esquire, it appears that he died possessed of a considerable estate in the borough itself, and particularly of six burgages paying each 1s. 4d. borough rent. In an old rental of the family there is a survey of their estates in Clitheroe, taken in the year 1614, which specifies each close and messuage, the whole amounting to 62 customary acres and 3 falls, or upwards of 100 statute acres, which, considering the very narrow limits of the borough, exclusive of the commons, must undoubtedly have been the largest property within it in the hands of any one family.

The earliest record of the return of members of Parliament for Clitheroe was in the first year of Queen Elizabeth (1559). One of the two members then mentioned was Mr. Thomas Greenacre. He was succeeded in the office by his son. His daughter and heiress married a Mr. Thomas Lister in 1572, and in 1603, a Martin Lister sat as member for Clitheroe. In 1693 Mr. Christopher Lister was chosen as a member, and again in 1695, 1698, and in 1700. In the elections of 1710, 1713, and 1715, Mr. Thomas Lister was returned to Parliament. The pamphlet records also that, from that time till 1780, some members of the Lister family had successively sat in Parliament for the borough.

The total number of votes in the constituency was 102, which was made up of 53 joint votes—*i.e.*,

on property belonging to the Curzon, and Lister families—30 separate votes belonging to the Lister property, and 19 votes belonging to Mr. Curzon and others. Thus, we learn how powerful was the influence of the owners of Gisburne at that period. But the future Baron was no armchair politician. When the American War broke out in the seventh decade of the eighteenth century, he recognised the danger in which this country stood, and he determined to do what he could to help her in that great crisis. Accordingly, he fitted out, at his own charges, a handsome frigate named the *Enchantress*, which he placed at the disposal of the Government for public service. This ship did good work in those anxious days, and carried letters of marque. She was eventually purchased by the Admiralty.

Four pictures, by Powell, of this vessel are painted on the 'round' of the dining-room at Gisburne, and they are fitted into four mahogany overdoors of very pure design by Adam. This public-spirited act on the part of Mr. T. Lister was much appreciated by the Government of that day. But his patriotism was not exhausted. In the year 1779, whilst the American War was being carried on with small success, England was threatened with an invasion from the combined fleets of France and Spain, the two European Powers which had espoused the cause of America. On June 3, in the same year, the fleets of these two countries, numbering sixty-eight ships of the line, set sail for our shores, and for two or three months menaced the south coasts of England. Some French frigates anchored in Cawsand Bay, and captured a few merchant vessels.

Admiral Hardy, who was sent with a much smaller fleet to oppose this vast armament, pursued it to the Scilly Islands, and then into the Channel, and had much difficulty in preventing the enemy from effecting a landing. Never since the days of the great Armada had such a mighty squadron threatened the coasts of England. The news of these dangers stirred the country to a military activity, and Mr. Thomas Lister, with many others, resolved that they would help the Government to the utmost of their power. Defenders were needed on all sides. Accordingly, Mr. Lister, who was in London at that time watching the course of events, wrote to the War Office offering to raise and equip at his own cost a regiment of light dragoons. The following letters passed between the author of this generous offer and the War Office :

‘GEORGE STREET,

‘HANOVER SQUARE,

‘*June 25, 1779.*

‘Mr. Lister proposes to raise and mount a corps of Light Dragoons, to consist of a Major Commandant, 3 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 3 Cornets, an Adjutant, 3 Quartermasters, 12 Sergeants, 12 Corporals, 3 Trumpeters, 3 Farriers, and 162 Privates. The officers to receive pay from the date of their commission. The privates from the time they are attested. The horses to be subsisted by Government from the day they are effective. All these in the same manner as other corps of Light Dragoons in the King’s Service. Upon being disbanded, they will neither desire to be allowed half pay, nor retain rank in the army, except such as may



be taken out of the Regular Regiments, or from half pay. Mr. Lister to appoint his own officers, and Government to engage that this Corps shall not serve out of Great Britain.'

To this letter Lord North replied as follows :

'DOWNING STREET,  
' 26 June, 1779.

' SIR,

' I have it not yet in my power to give you a direct answer to the very handsome and public spirited offers you authorise me to send to Lord Amhurst (the Commander-in-Chief) on Friday, but I take the liberty of transmitting to you a letter I have just received from his Lordship upon the subject of it ; and have the honour to be, Sir, with the greatest respect,

' Your very humble servant,

' NORTH.'

The letter referred to is given below :

' Lord Amhurst presents his compliments to Lord North. He has received his Lordship's letter enclosing Mr. Lister's proposals for raising Light Dragoons ; he has also received His Lordship's note enclosing several applications for raising Corps. Lord Amhurst will give answer to the last mentioned, as they are none of them within the rules which are observed. In regard to Mr. Lister's proposal, tho' the King has not approved of any Regiment of Dragoons or Hussars being raised from the Proposals which have been laid before His



Majesty, Mr. Lister's Proposal is so Public spirited, so void of any pecuniary profit, and without any stipulation of Rank or Half Pay hereafter, that Lord Amhurst will certainly show all the attention he can to so good a friend to the Public by laying before the King on the first occasion the Particulars of the Proposal, and will have the honour of acquainting Lord North with His Majesty's Pleasure therein.'

On July 3, 1779, Mr. Lister received a further communication from the Prime Minister :

' Lord North presents his compliments to Mr. Lister, and as Lord Amhurst is in the Country upon Particular Business, Lord North takes the liberty of informing Mr. Lister that His Majesty has approved of his proposal for raising a Corps of Light Dragoons, and if Mr. Lister will take the trouble of calling on Mr. Morse, Lord Amhurst's Secretary, he will give him every Assistance and information he can wish to receive upon the matter. Mr. Morse is to be found at Lord Amhurst's, or at his house, next door to Lord North's, in Downing Street.'

Mr. Lister also received a letter from the Commander-in-Chief of the same date, and to the same effect. The following letter from the Secretary of the War Office ought not to be omitted :

' Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards first Earl of Liverpool) presents his compliments to Mr. Lister, and acquaints him that he mentioned to the King his wishes that the Facings of the Corps might be blue, and that it might be called "Royal," but he found that this wish of

Mr. Lister's could not be complied with. These distinctions have sometimes been given to Corps raised by cities or Corporate bodies, but never to Corps raised by Individuals, unless there is some special reason for it. Mr. Jenkinson thinks that the name and Facings Mr. Lister has chosen are very proper ones.'

[*Copy of Beating Orders.*]

'GEORGE R. Whereas we have thought fit to order a Corps of Light Dragoons to be forthwith raised under your command which is to consist of 3 Troops with four Sergeants, Four Corporals, One Trumpeter, One Hautbois, and 54 Private men and Horses in each Troop (besides the usual number of non-commissioned officers), which men are not to be sent out of Great Britain. These are to authorize you, by Beat of Drum or otherwise, to raise so many men in any County or part of our kingdom of Great Britain as shall be wanted to complete the said Corps to the number (207 in all) above mentioned. And all Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables, and other Civil Officers whom it may concern, are hereby required to be assisting with you in providing Quarters, impressing Carriages and otherwise as there shall be occasion.

'Given at Our Court at St. James' the 10<sup>th</sup> day of July, 1779, in the 19<sup>th</sup> year of Our Reign. By His Majesty's command,

'C. JENKINSON.

'To T. and W<sup>d</sup> Thomas Lister, Esq<sup>re</sup>, Major Com<sup>d</sup> of a Corps of Light Dragoons to be forthwith raised, or to the officer appointed by Him to raise men for the said Corps.'

From other letters it appears that 5 feet 4 inches was the minimum height allowed in the regiment, and from eighteen years to forty years was the limit for age. Mr. Lister's appeal for recruits in Craven met with such a ready response that by August 6 the troops were complete. But there was some delay in getting the arms, clothing, and accoutrements from London. Consequently, when the order came for the troops to march to Exeter, many of them had to start without their saddles and carbines. They journeyed under the command of Major Lister, on September 10, by Burnley, Rochdale, Stockport, Leek, Stafford, Wolverhampton, and Worcester. The two other troops took a slightly different route, under the command of Captain Sir John Ramsden, and Captain Wrightson; but shortly after they left Lancashire their destination was changed, and they were directed to proceed to Salisbury, at which place they arrived on September 26. Here the troops did not remain for many days, for orders came from headquarters that they should now march to Exeter by way of Blandford, Dorchester, Bridport, and Axmouth. After their arrival at Exeter they were ordered to assist in recruiting for His Majesty's service in Devonshire. The difficulty of getting sufficient men for the Navy is evidenced by this extract from an order given to Major Lister by the War Office in July, 1780:

‘The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having represented to me that there are no means at present of enforcing the Press at Dartmouth and the neighbourhood thereof without some further strength in addition to what their Lordships can furnish for that purpose, and they have requested that, in order to complete the



complement of several of His Majesty's ships, which want only men to enable them to put to sea at this critical juncture, the military may be directed to aid the officers and men of His Majesty's Fleet employed in the Impress service.'

We can well understand how important it was that the fleet should be efficient. Six months before this time Sir C. Hardy, the English Admiral, who had been sent to oppose the combined fleets of France and Spain, had only thirty-eight vessels. At the end of August he anchored off Spithead, and was prepared to give the allies battle, in spite of their superiority in numbers. Large masses of soldiers and volunteers were collected on the coast, where it was expected that the enemy might land. The excitement in England was intense. But the foreigners, seeing that the English were so well prepared to meet them by land and by sea, hesitated to give battle. They quarrelled amongst themselves. The Spaniards were in favour of landing, but the French held back. Finally they separated, and returned to their own coasts without having effected their purpose.

The immediate danger was passed when Major Lister and his troops reached the South, but there was much to be done in providing against any future contingency, and one urgent need was an increase of men for the navy. So the Yorkshire Regiment visited several places in Devonshire and Cornwall, being quartered successively at Totnes, Tavistock, Dartmouth, and Launceston, and on one occasion they were ordered to quell a riot which had broken out at Dartmouth, and which was probably caused by the severe measures used by the press gang. On another occasion we read of



their being in charge of some Dutch prisoners on their way to Bristol. The Craven Light Dragoons conducted 197 of them from Mill Prison to Ashburton.

Although the fleets of the enemy had disappeared from our coasts, an order, given on March 24, 1781, shows that the scare and the fear of invasion had not died away. Major-General Grey, commanding the troops in the West of England, sends instructions to the Yorkshire Regiment with the purpose of teaching them how to act in the event of an invasion: 'in case an enemy comes in such force as the Troops immediately opposed to them cannot prevent their making a landing good, that the most may be made of the tract of country entrusted to their care by making an impression on the enemy on every possible opportunity, constantly hanging upon them, keeping them in alarm, defending every post, throwing every possible obstruction and impediment in their way, by breaking up walls, cutting down trees, and driving of horses, carriages, and all other cattle, protracting time by delay as much as possible, but not to hazard too much or anything decisive till reinforced and orders arrive from the General commanding the districts, when it is not doubted that the enemy will have reason to repent their rash attempt.'

The regimental book from which this extract is taken ceases to give any information after August, 1781. Accordingly, we are unable to say at what date the troops were disbanded, or in what work they were subsequently engaged. In order to give the reader a specimen of Mr. Lister's epistolary style, we insert here a letter which he wrote to the Commander-in-Chief with reference to his regiment in June, 1780:

‘MY LORD,

‘Not having the honour of meeting your Lordship at home, I take the liberty to enclose a letter which I have just received from Lieutenant Lowther, wherein he expresses a desire to resign the commission. His Majesty has often been graciously pleased to listen to my recommendation of officers that I fear your Lordship will think me presumptive in requesting you to lay before the King the names of two officers in the Corps which, from their zeal and attention to the Duties of their station, I can with great truth declare to be worthy of Promotion. The first is the oldest Cornet, Mr. Christopher Clapham, whom I could much wish might succeed to the Lieutenancy. The other is the Adjutant, Mr. Thomas Robinson, whose steady conduct and indefatigable exertions in the discipline of the Corps deserve every commendation that I can give them. Mr. Robinson is at present Adjutant and Quarter Master, and should His Majesty be pleased to promote him to a Cornetcy, a very useful man might be obtained from one of the long-established Regiments of Light Dragoons for Quarter Master. I need not repeat my assurances that from the origin of this Corps there has been no money transaction, nor has a single officer been subjected to any expense whatever save the Captains, who voluntarily and very generously bore the expense of one Troop between them.

‘I have the honour to be, My Lord, with the greatest esteem and respect,

‘Your Lordship’s very H<sup>ble</sup> servant,

‘T. LISTER.

‘To LORD AMHURST.’

In the year 1794 the Squire of Gisburne raised three troops of Yeomanry designated by the title of the Yorkshire 'West Riding Cavalry.' This regiment was disbanded in 1799. In the same year Major Lister served as High Sheriff of Yorkshire, and in 1797 his generosity and public spirit received a well-merited recognition from the hands of his Sovereign. He was offered a barony, which he gratefully accepted, with the title of Baron Ribblesdale of Gisburne Park.

In 1804, when England was liable to an invasion from the victorious armies of Napoleon Buonaparte, Lord Ribblesdale raised another force for the protection of his country, consisting of cavalry and infantry, known as the 'Craven Legion.' His lordship was appointed Colonel of the Legion, an appointment which he held until his death. The colours of the Legion, after they had been consecrated at Skipton on February 17, 1804, by the Rev. Josias Dawson, Senior Chaplain to the Legion, and Domestic Chaplain to Lord Ribblesdale, were presented to the Legion by Lady Ribblesdale, who on this occasion made the following address :

'Altho', my most Honoured Lord and Gentlemen, it is with the utmost diffidence, yet I feel the highest Gratification in presenting this distinguished Legion with their colours. In more virtuous, more loyal and truly patriotic Hands they cannot be lodged. May your noble resolution to defend them be propitious, and may the Almighty aid and support you in the awful hour of Peril, and vouchsafe to crown your glorious cause with victory. Permit me only to add that the Hearts of your dearest Relatives overflow with



Gratitude for your generous Protection, from your wives and children an Eternal Affection.'

To this Lord Ribblesdale replied as follows :

'I may venture in the name of the Craven Legion to return your Ladyship their sincerest thanks for the kind and generous Sentiments you entertain of them. That good opinion I am certain will on their part never be forfeited. These sacred Banners, my gallant Comrades, which have just been presented to you by one of the best of Women, will recall to our Memories, whenever or wherever they are displayed, our Wives, our Children, our Parents, our dearest connections whom you have so nobly stepped forward to defend ; but above all they will remind us of the duties we owe to our dear country in the Protection of our virtuous Monarch, our incomparable laws, our invaluable Constitution, our pure religion, with all the comforts and enjoyments of social and domestic life. We prostrate ourselves before the altar of this revered country, determined never to abandon it but with our Existence. If we survive the Conflict with our ferocious Enemies, we shall joyfully return Home to those we most love and admire ; but if it is the will of the Almighty that some of us should fall, we shall fall covered with the Gratitude and the Blessings of this and all succeeding generations of Englishmen. Let the motto of "God and our Country" reign in our hearts as it waves over our Heads ! And may Conquest, Honor, and Renown, attend the Craven Legion wherever its destiny may lead it.'

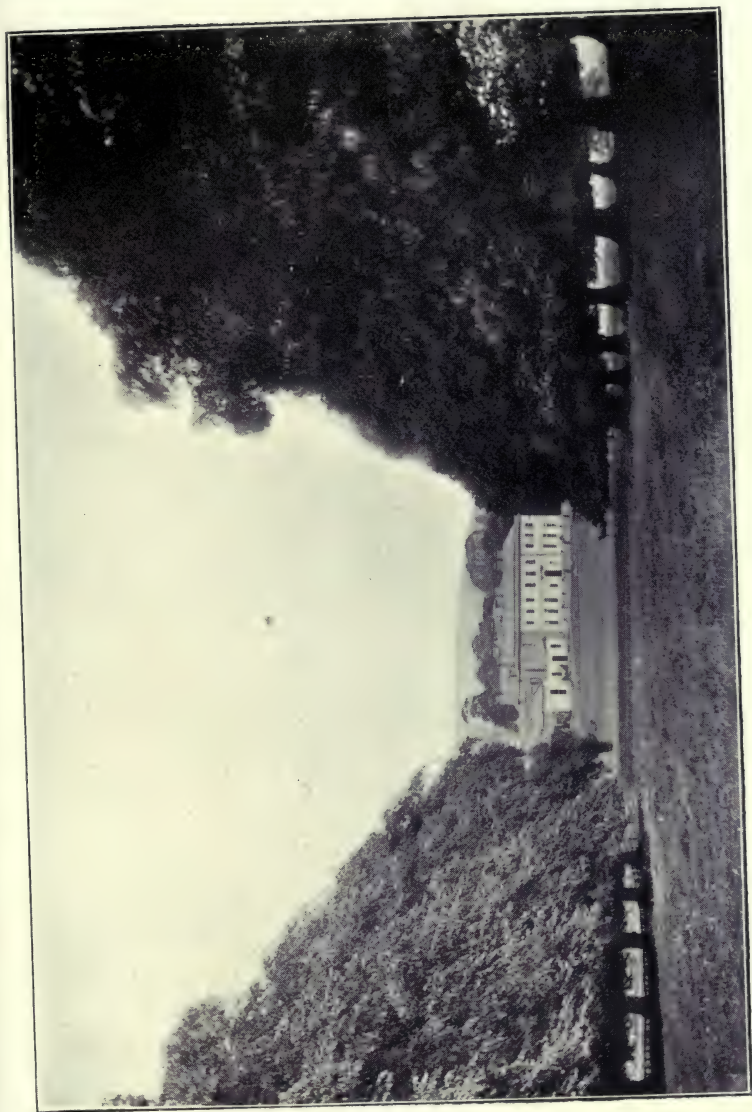
The scarce pamphlet which gives these speeches contains also the form of the consecration of the colours (*cf.* Appendix). The officers of the legion, to mark



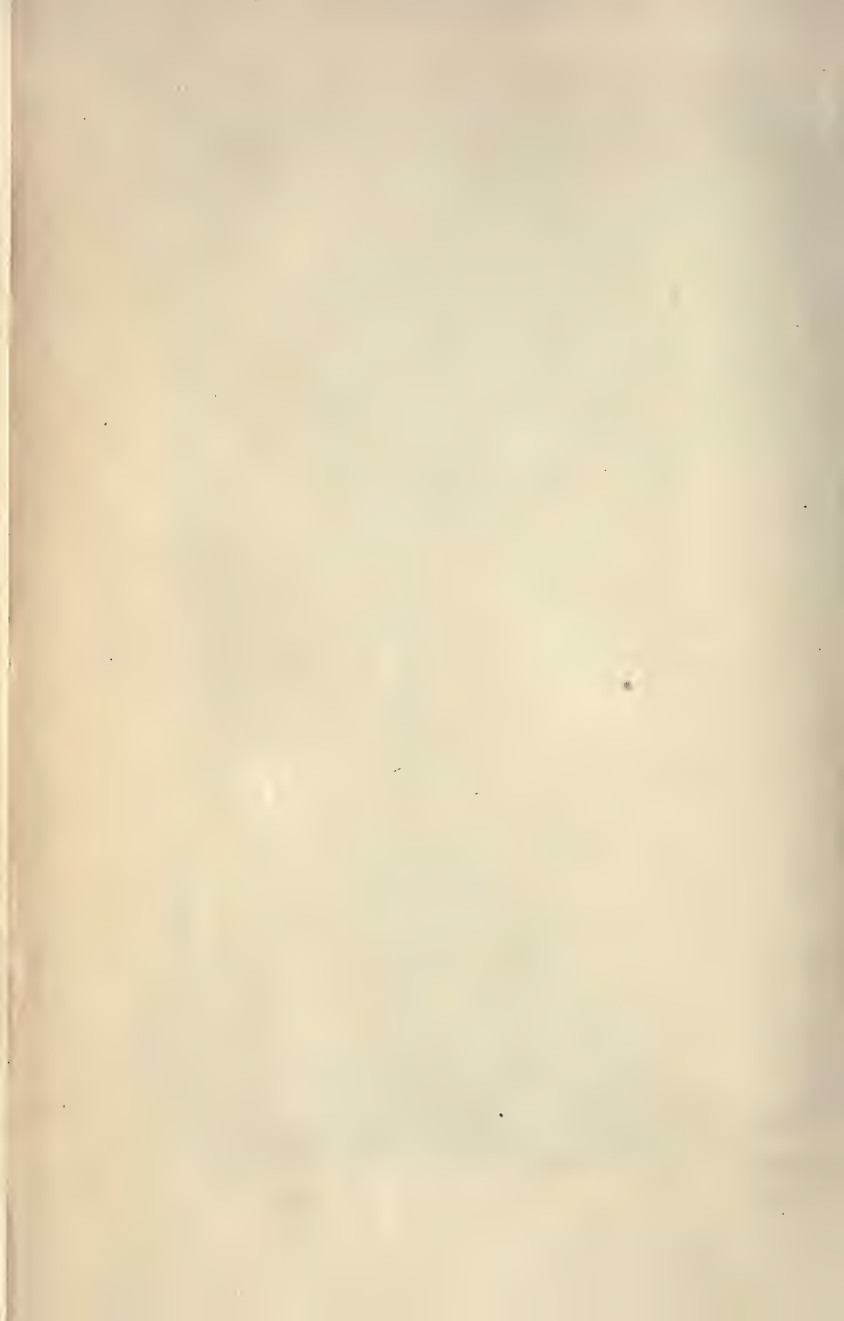
their appreciation of their Colonel's kind services, presented him with a very handsome silver tray, richly embossed with an exquisite pattern on the margin. The tray bears this inscription: 'In grateful acknowledgment to his most kind and generous comrades, their Colonel, Lord Ribblesdale, dedicates this plate.' It contains the names of the officers of the cavalry and infantry regiments, which are printed at the end of this memoir.

After the restoration of peace his lordship spent his days in retirement at Gisburne, amusing himself with country pastimes and by improving his large estates. He planted a vast number of trees in the valley of the Ribble. Dr. Whitaker says 1,200,000 oak trees and an uncounted number of other trees, and he adds: 'I know not a more patriotic work, nor one which could better entitle its author to the barony of a valley so adorned and improved.'

In those days the family estates were very extensive, and it was the first Lord Ribblesdale's ambition that he might be able to ride from Pendle Hill to Malham Tarn (where he had a shooting-box) on his own land. To accomplish this he added to his estate from time to time by buying up several parcels of land. His lordship kept a commonplace book from year to year on his forestry and farming operations, in which his appreciations were entered with point, originality, and pains. Unluckily, this manuscript book with the diary, which he kept when he went on his travels in France and Italy, were burnt in a destructive fire which occurred in the present Lord Ribblesdale's house in Manchester Square some years ago. This is much to be regretted,



GISBURNE PARK.



as the books would doubtless have thrown considerable light upon the state of agriculture in Craven at that period, and upon the conditions of travel and society in those countries through which his lordship passed at a time when they were not so well known or accessible as they are at the present day.

In the obituary notice which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, it is said that his lordship's opinions were upon all questions truly in accordance with the principles of the Constitution as settled in 1688. He was a patron of the fine arts, and possessed a collection of pictures at Gisburne Park consisting of oil-paintings by the best-known foreign artists, which he purchased and brought to England when he made the 'grand tour' in Europe, including a Van de Laer, 'Trajan's Pillar at Rome'; two views of Venice, 'The Grand Canal' and 'St. Mark's,' by Canaletto; 'A Portrait of a Muscovite,' by Rembrandt; 'Virgin and Child,' by Raphael; 'St. Sebastian,' by Guido; a pair of landscapes by Domenichino; 'Ferdinand, Infant of Spain,' by Vandyke; and many others.

The present Lord Ribblesdale, to whose kindness and courtesy I am indebted for placing at my disposal various sources of information, informs me that Mr. James Ward, R.A., was a friend of the first Lord, and often stayed with the family at Gisburne. At the request of his patron, he painted on a very large canvas 'Gordale Scar,' with the white cattle, fallow deer, goats, and sheep in the foreground. 'The picture,' says Lord Ribblesdale, 'is of too heroic a size for any ordinary room or house, and I believe the first Lord intended to present it to the National Gallery. When finished it



was sent to London with the canvas rolled up, and was deposited at the British Museum for safety. There it appears to have been mislaid, and after many years it was returned to Gisburne by Lord John Russell, then Prime Minister, during my father's minority. The Gallery Trustees purchased it from me about the year 1879, and it is now hanging on the main staircase.'

There are two or three water-colour sketches of terriers, done by James Ward, at Gisburne still, evidently the house-dogs of that time, and two very nice little oil-pictures, 'Winter' and 'Summer,' signed and dated. His lordship adds: 'I think there is little doubt that the original sign of the White Bull was painted by "Old Ward," but successive signboard artists have left their several identities upon the first presentment of the great artist.'

Lord Ribblesdale also encouraged local literary talent. He assisted Mr. T. Hurtley in bringing out his interesting volume on the 'Natural Curiosities of Malham,' and the work is dedicated to his lordship.

He married in 1789, at the Hotel de Ville at Fontainebleau, in France, and again on November 7, 1789, at St. James's Church, Westminster, Rebecca, daughter and co-heiress of Joseph Fielding Esq., of Ireland, by Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher Jackson, of the county of Nottingham. By this marriage his lordship had one son, Thomas, who succeeded him, and two daughters, Catherine and Rebecca Adelaide. A portrait of the first Lord as a boy was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Another portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence is reproduced at the beginning of this memoir. He died at Gisburne on September 22, 1826, in the seventy-

fourth year of his age. His funeral is thus described in the journal of that day: 'The remains of this amiable and lamented nobleman were on Saturday, the 30th of September, deposited in the family vault in the Church at Gisburne. It was the particular desire of the late Lord that his funeral should be as private as possible, and that his corpse should be carried on foot by his own tenants from the house to the Church. This, owing to the long distance through the Park, and the great weight of the coffin, was a matter of some difficulty, and the tenants relieved each other by relays of ten each. A large concourse of people were assembled, who by their tears and respectful demeanour demonstrated the feelings of affection they entertained toward the deceased nobleman, who had been to them during a long period a kind and liberal landlord, and a friendly and unassuming neighbour. The mourners were: His son, the present Lord, and his daughter, the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Mrs. Parker, and the Rev. J. Parker; Thomas Lister,\* Esq., of Armitage Park; and Thomas Lister Parker, Esq., of Browsholme, who appeared deeply affected by the loss they have sustained.'

In conclusion, it is the hope of the writer of these pages that England may never again be surrounded by such a series of dangers and difficulties as those which beset her in the closing years of the eighteenth century, when Lord Ribblesdale offered his services and his substance to his country. But if history should repeat itself, and we should once more be threatened with invasion, he prays that there may never be wanting

\* T. H. Lister, the author of 'Granby' and other once popular novels, was a member of the Armitage Park branch of the family.

a supply of men ready to come forward in their country's defence, and eager to sacrifice their wealth and ease with a liberality and devotion equal to that which distinguished the first Baron of the beautiful valley of the Ribble.

## APPENDIX

The names of the officers of the 'Craven Legion,' as inscribed on Lord Ribblesdale's silver tray :

### CAVALRY.

Lieut.-Colonel Rich. Wainman, Major John Ingleby.

### *Captains.*

John Cockshot, Rich. Greenwood, John Dyneley,  
John Geldard, William Tindal.

### *Lieutenants.*

Will. Buck, Henry Wilkinson, John Heelis, W. Tipping,  
Thos. Cowper.

### *Cornets.*

Stephen Johnson, Thos. Parkinson, Thos. Browne,  
Will. Foster, Anthony Stackhouse.

### *Chaplain.*

Josias Dawson, A.M.

### *Surgeon.*

Thos. Cowper.

INFANTRY.

Lieut.-Colonels Thos. Garforth, Richard Heber.

*Majors.*

William Birtwhistle, Charles Ingleby.

*Captains.*

Thos. Peel, Lister Ellis, Robinson Chippendale, John Carr, Will. Ellis, Henry Owen Cunliffe, Abraham Chamberlayne, Rob. Willis, John Armitstead, Josias Robinson, Rich. Carr, Thos. Cockshot.

*Lieutenants.*

Rob. Tipping, John Moffat, Samuel Westerman, Thos. Clayton, John Craven, Joseph Cooper, Rob. Hodgson, Robert Redmayne, Will. Hargreaves, Rob. Benson, Thos. Delafaire, John Nightingale, Chas. Tindal, George Baynes, Thos. Newton, John Spencer, Christ. Johnson, Thos. Moorhouse.

*Ensigns.*

Thos. Spencer, Thos. Baynes, Christ. Lancaster, I. O. Overend, Thos. D. Heaton.

*Lieutenant and Adjutant.*

David Hewit.

*Chaplain.*

Robert Dyneley.

*Surgeon.*

Christopher Simpson.

*Quarter Master.*

Thos. Dawson.



‘Form of Consecration of the Colours of the Craven Legion at Skipton, February 17, 1804. By the Rev. Josias Dawson, A.B., Senior Chaplain to the Legion and Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Thomas Lord Ribblesdale. Colne: printed by Earnshaw.’ I am indebted to Mr. T. Brayshaw for the loan of the pamphlet containing the ‘Form.’

*Divine Services used on this Occasion.*

‘The humble emblems, designated as the Standards of honourable, patriotic & Religious Valour, and thus in great Humility submitted in Thy Divine Presence, deign, Almighty Father, graciously to accept and sanctify. Deeply conscious of our own personal Frailties and of the utter Imbecility of all human Prowess without Thy Aid, O God, yet engaged, we trust, in the virtuous Defence of everything that can be deemed just and sacred among Men, permit us Supreme Protector! to flee with devout Solicitude for succour and support under the Shadow of Thine Omnipervading Wings. Defend, then, Lord of all Power and Might, these hallowed Banners with Thine Omnipotent Protection, and us Thy Servants with Thy heavenly Grace, and grant that we may continue Thine for ever, and daily increase in Thy Holy Spirit more and more, until we come to Thine Everlasting Kingdom. Thro’ Jesus Christ our Saviour.

‘May the Almighty Lord, who is a most strong Tower to all who put their trust in Him, to whom all things in Heaven, in Earth, and under the Earth do bow and obey; be now and evermore our Defence, and make us to know and feel that there is none other Name

under Heaven given unto Men, in whom and thro' whom they may receive health and salvation, but only the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

*(Benediction by the Rev. Robert Dyneley, A.B., Chaplain of Infantry.)*

'Unto God's gracious Mercy and Protection we therefore commit you. The Lord make His face to shine upon you, and be gracious unto you; the Lord lift up the light of His Countenance upon you, and give you Grace and Security now and for ever. Amen.'

#### WILD CATTLE OF GISBURNE PARK.

*(Extract from Rev. J. Storer's 'Wild White Cattle of Great Britain,' p. 287.)*

'I give first the information I received from the present Lord Ribblesdale, who succeeded to the remains of this herd in 1832, as a minor not 5 years old, and who reaped the consequences of the neglect and indifference with which it had been previously treated. His Lordship says, in a letter to me dated January 29, 1874: "The cattle that used to be here have been extinct about 15 years. I could not keep them on any longer; they got delicate from breeding in and in, and always bred bulls at last. They were, I believe, the inhabitants of the forests of this part of the county" (p. 292). From the evidence, we may, I think, fairly draw the following conclusions as regards origin: That the Gisburne Park cattle came first from Whalley Abbey, and were most likely obtained from the Asshetons, the two intermarriages of the family—

through both of which the Listers obtained property—rendering it certain that they had every opportunity of obtaining some of the wild cattle from the same source. That they did so is confirmed by tradition, and still more by the circumstance that both herds were of the same variety. As regards colour, it seems quite certain, from Bewick, Whitaker, and the first Lord Ribblesdale, that from 70 to 80 or 90 years since these cattle were red or brown-eared, and it appears that some of them were so when Mr. Potter saw them in 1836. Their noses Dr. Whitaker describes as black, and very possibly he saw some of that colour; but generally they were at the above time red, brown, flesh-coloured, and so some of them must have been, according to Mr. Staniforth's account, at a much later period. Finally, by selection these colours were extirpated: ears, muzzles, even hoofs, were white, and they entered the Manchester Museum as the "White Variety." They had anciently, according to Bewick, more tendency to white than most other wild herds, and that colour being cultivated finally prevailed. As regards wildness, they were more ferocious formerly than at last; but even to the end they were very pugnacious towards one another. As regards size, there is abundant evidence to show that they were a large, fine breed of cattle, fair milkers, and of good quality; even in their very last days, when they had much degenerated and deteriorated, there is clear enough evidence to show that they were as large as ordinary shorthorns. P. 293 he says: "The great cause of their extinction—long-continued interbreeding—has been clearly shown; they were 'bred out.' And the evil must have been much intensified, and its opera-

tion quickened, by the small number of the herd ; for many years they must have been bred from close relationships. Once in the time of the late Lord Ribblesdale, who died in 1832, an exchange was proposed through a mutual friend, Mr. Spencer Stanhope, of Cannon Hall, Yorkshire, by Edward, third Lord Suffield, of Gunton Hall, Norfolk, whose grandfather had inherited and removed to Norfolk the Middleton herd. The negotiation was carried on for some time, and turned upon the question whether ‘black or red noses had been the fashion at Gunton,’ thus clearly showing that the latter colour was not then considered alien to the Gisburne cattle. As the Gunton cattle had, however, black muzzles, Lord Ribblesdale would have none of them, and so lost for ever the chance of perpetuating the herd. In one of his letters his lordship mentions a curious fact. He says : ‘I have two bulls, I think the handsomest I ever remember of the kind.’ Such is one of the singular effects of long-continued in-and-in breeding when verging to its close ; it occasionally perfects the single animal, but annihilates the race.”

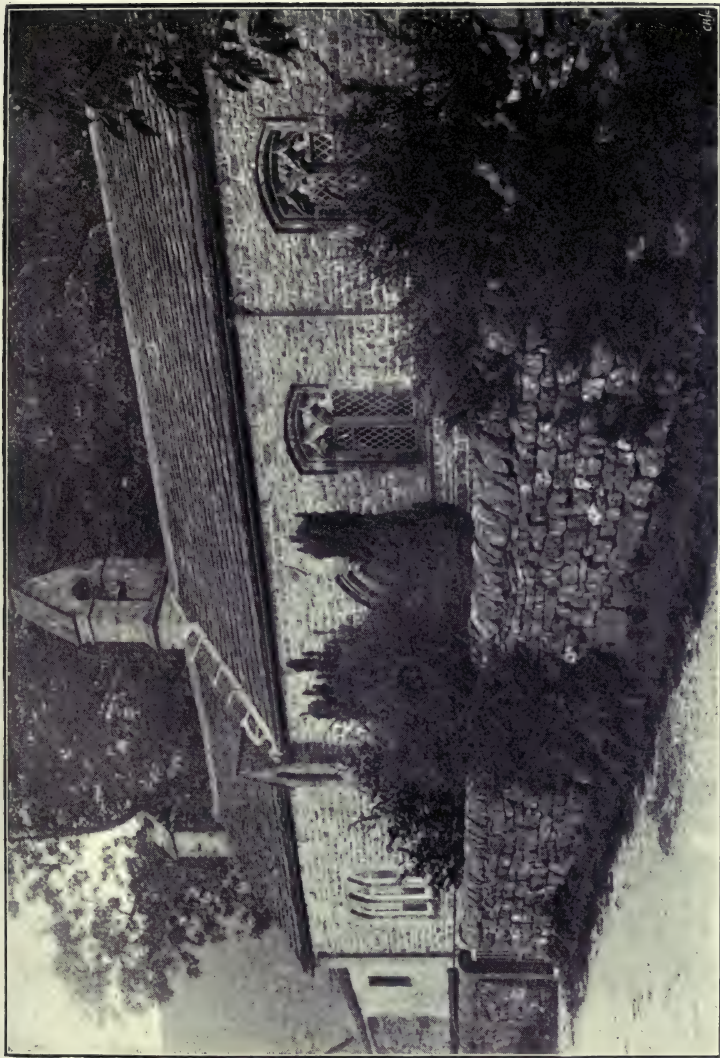
In the copy of Whitaker at Gisburne is the following note in the first lord’s handwriting : ‘The ears and noses of this species of cattle are never black, but most usually red or brown.’



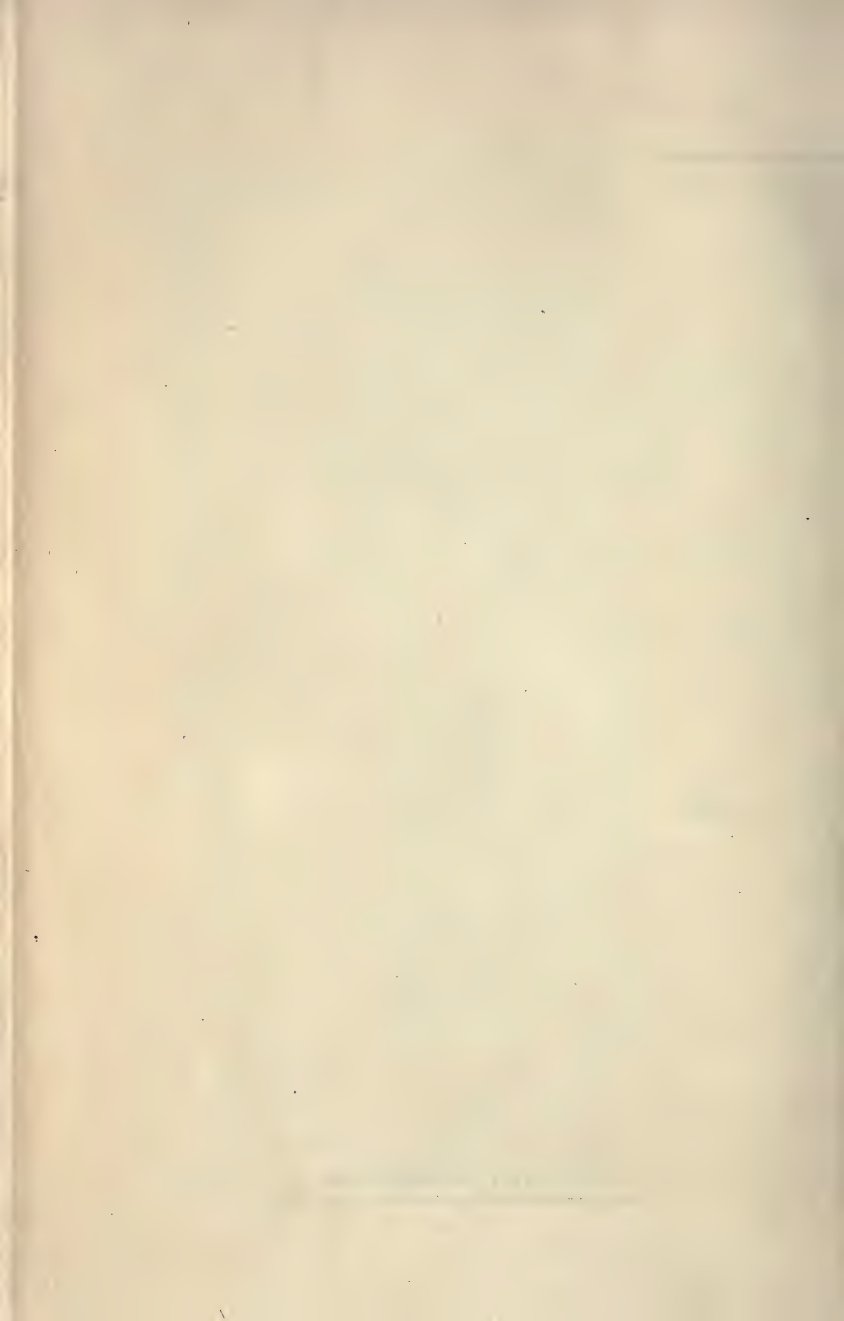
## THOMAS LINDLEY

‘He turn’d  
For a life’s stay, though slender yet assured,  
To this remote and humble chapelry.’

THE poet Wordsworth, in his ‘Duddon Sonnets’ and in the ‘Excursion,’ has immortalized the simple pastor of Seathwaite, who was well known in the eighteenth century as the ‘Wonderful Walker.’ And Canon Parkinson has added considerably to our knowledge of this remarkable man by his publication of the ‘Old Church Clock,’ one of the most charming books in the English language, which gives us all that can now be known about the life and labours of Richard Walker. Now, the life of Thomas Lindley of Halton Gill in many respects resembles that of the Lake clergyman. We have had our ‘Wonderful,’ although most of us have been unaware that the same life of almost Apostolic simplicity has been passed in our own district. The ministry of Richard Walker extended over a period of sixty-seven years (1735-1802), and that of Thomas Lindley from 1777 to 1847, a period of seventy years. The life of the latter, as has been said, was a reproduction—but of course unconsciously, as they were unknown to each other—of the life of the



HALTON GILL CHAPEL AND PARSONAGE.



former in almost every particular, with one important exception—the curate of Halton Gill was never married; so that if we are astonished at the liveliness of mind and the skill and ability displayed by Walker in his numerous avocations, we must remember that he enjoyed the care and comfort of a good wife and a healthy family to stimulate and cheer him in his remote home. But with the ‘wonderful’ pastor of Halton Gill, it was far otherwise. No wife, or even relative, shared his rural seclusion amid the fastnesses of Upper Wharfedale. His life of ninety-four years was almost that of a hermit. The Lake clergyman had his roomy cottage, but Mr. Lindley lived in his priest’s chambers under the same roof as the little chapel. The whole area of the building, which stands at the west end of the chapel, was only about 17 square feet, and here there was certainly no room for wife or family. He was a man of very humble origin, and was appointed to the curacy of Halton Gill on the death of Mr. Wilson, the father of Canon Wilson, whose life has been described. He was born at Hipperholme, or Coley, near Halifax, in the year 1753, and was educated at one of the Grammar Schools in that district, and, being an apt scholar, he was ordained deacon, October 27, 1776, by Archbishop Drummond, and priest, July 27, 1777, by Archbishop Markham, at Bishopthorpe. His license to Halton Gill bears the same date.

It was the custom in those days for the Bishops to ordain from the Grammar Schools young men of ability and good character, who, after receiving their education at the school, continued their connection there as ushers until they reached the canonical age for ordina-



tion. It was in this way that both Walker and Lindley obtained Holy Orders. Such candidates for the ministry were usually sent to the smaller curacies and benefices in the North of England, and they did good work in their time as schoolmasters and clergymen.

There is a tradition that when Mr. Lindley had been appointed to the curacy, but had not yet come to reside in the parish, he was accustomed to walk from his native place to his curacy at the end of the week, and to return also on foot after the Sunday service had been performed. But this arrangement continued for only a few weeks, for he soon took up his abode in the humble apartments, consisting of one room on the ground-floor and two small bedrooms above, which had been built for the minister in the seventeenth century, and which have since Mr. Lindley's time been converted into a schoolroom for the township.

In this secluded spot, he spent the long years of his ministry, undisturbed by those great troubles which threw most of the countries of Europe into convulsions, and taxed the resources of our own to the utmost. Here there was no risk of invasion. The curate of Halton Gill could say with Horace: '*Beatus ille qui procul negotiis,*' etc. And yet we know that this district joined in the general outburst of joy and thanksgiving which marked the proclamation of peace in 1813, for one noted dalesman, who died only a few years ago, told the writer that he could remember how Mr. Lindley presided at a dinner which was served in the little green court lying on the south side of the chapel, to commemorate this great event.

Although it was not an age of daily newspapers or monthly periodicals, yet the pastor of Halton Gill seems to have taken a great interest in the political contests of his county. For we have it on good authority that during the contest between Lord Milton and Mr. Lascelles in 1807 (when the poll was kept open for fourteen days, and most of the inns and hotels kept open house at the expense of one or other of the candidates), he rode to York to record his vote in favour of Mr. Lascelles, and was in danger of being roughly handled on his return homewards at Otley, where he was assailed with sods by the mob, who cried, 'He's a parson and a blue; let's kill him!'

In addition to his duties as priest of the township, Mr. Lindley performed those of schoolmaster, an office with a very small endowment which was then united to the curacy; and from the year 1807, till his death, he held the curacy of Hubberholme, another chapelry in the parish of Arncliffe.

To perform the ecclesiastical duties of this chapelry from Halton Gill was no easy task, for each visit to the district involved a climb over the Hawes, or Horse's Head, a hill which rises to the height of 800 or 900 feet above the village. This journey he performed every week, or at least every fortnight. He was then protected by a woollen covering for the legs and thighs, called 'cockers.' And so assiduous was he in the discharge of this portion of his duties that, after crossing the hills on a very wild day, he was thus accosted by a Hubberholme woman: 'Mr. Lindley, why do you fash yourself to cum on such a day as this?' He answered: 'Duty must be done.'

In his old age Mr. Lindley usually rode up the hill on a white pony, from which he dismounted on arriving at the top, and, sending the pony back by his servant to Halton Gill, he walked down into Langstrothdale. His visits into this dale were continued until his eightieth year. He took a funeral at Hubberholme for the last time in 1833. From this date until his death the chapelry of Hubberholme was in charge of Mr. Metcalfe as stipendiary curate, who was afterwards appointed to the incumbency by Mr. Boyd.

A quaint story is told concerning him which may well be repeated here. Mr. Metcalfe was fond of going into the woods and pastures with his gun in search of rabbits, but he was rather a poor shot. Once one of his parishioners met him, and said: 'Well, Mr. Metcalfe, then you have been killing rabbits this morning?' 'No,' he answered, 'killing time!'

A short description of the township in which Mr. Lindley passed his long life shall now be given. Who that has approached Halton Gill from the hills which shut it out from Ribblesdale could ever forget the scene as the little hamlet bursts into view? Opposite to the traveller as he descends from the slopes of Penyghent are the high range of hills—the Horse's Head, the Hag, etc.—which form the backbone of the Craven portion of the Pennine range. The deep and dry beds of ancient water-courses furrow the hills and break the monotony of the dull-brown mountain sides; under one of them, lying snugly and facing south, is the little hamlet, 1,000 feet above sea-level, consisting of seven or eight well-built farmhouses. The whole area of the township is no less than 7,000 to 8,000 acres, chiefly of



moorland, with the hamlet of Foxhope and a few outlying farmhouses. It has been well described as the township of the three hills, three gills, and three rills, as within its borders are situated the hills of Penyghent, Cosh Knott, and Fountain's Fell, with the ravines and becks which lie between and separate them from each other. In the eighteenth century it had a population of about 150. The census in 1811 gives 141 (seventy-seven males and sixty-four females), living in twenty-three houses. Now there are but fifteen houses with seventy inhabitants, and in Mr. Lindley's days the township had not been deserted by the principal landowners, as is now the case. Then the Dawsons of Halton Gill, and the Fosters of Nether Hesleden were resident.

The decrease of population is mainly owing to the same causes which have been at work in the depopulation of so many of our villages and hamlets—the invention of machinery, the use of steam and electric power, and the consequent rise of our large towns. Accordingly, the hand spinning-loom is no longer heard in our sweet villages, 'making the cottages murmur through the silent hours as with the sound of summer flies.' Now the young workers who cannot find employment on the farms have to seek for it in the various trades and manufactures of the neighbouring towns. But before the present century has expired things may change, as there is enough latent electric power in the water-courses of Upper Wharfedale to light the whole of Yorkshire, and to keep in motion all the machinery of the West Riding.

And as in the latter years of Mr. Lindley's ministry



the population became thinner, so the Church life of the township became colder and more feeble. The chapel was not heated in the winter months; consequently in the severe weather (and at 1,000 feet above the sea the snow often lies for one or two months with a depth of 6 or 9 inches) the congregation was very scanty, and occasionally Divine service was not performed owing to the lack of worshippers. It is said that once when the aged pastor entered the chapel, being somewhat disappointed at seeing only about half a dozen of the members of his flock in attendance, he was heard counting them as he passed up the aisle, saying, 'One, two, three,' etc., and he added: 'The more to pray for!'

The following quaint anecdotes illustrating his character may be given here.

One Sunday afternoon the congregation—if it may be so called—consisted only of a servant girl from a neighbouring farm. Mr. Lindley said the prayers as usual, but when the time came for the sermon, he rose from his knees and said to the girl: 'I have a sermon, but it will not do for you.' Her curiosity was naturally excited, and she became at that time a regular attendant at the chapel services, with the anticipation of some day hearing the discourse. After a few Sundays the congregation grew larger, and the long-looked-for sermon was preached; and then it was found to be a charity sermon!

At some particular period in his life Mr. Lindley was involved in a lawsuit with a landowner. He had ridden over to Settle (ten miles) on horseback to look after the affair. The case went against him. He then

commenced to walk home rapidly, absorbed in his own reflections. After proceeding about three miles, he suddenly stopped, and, looking at his boots, exclaimed : 'Spurs ! spurs ! Then I must have had a horse.' Whereupon he turned back and remounted his steed. The landowner with whom he had this dispute was a lady. So when he reached Halton Gill, and was accosted by his parishioners, who wished to know the verdict, the only information they could gain from him was expressed in the words, 'Jinny banged the weaver.'

I have been told that when he was engaged in teaching, and was sometimes a little irritated at having to reiterate the pronunciation of some word to a dilatory pupil, on such an occasion he would raise his eyes from the page, and say : 'Call it Cappadocia, and go on.'

Although he had not received a University education, he was a man of some learning. This will be readily granted when it is mentioned that amongst his books which were dispersed after his decease there was a copy of 'Josephus' in the original Greek, and a Hebrew lexicon, with other works of a learned character. In a sermon preached early in the nineteenth century in aid of the National Society, the old clergyman advocates, long before the age of Education Acts and Board Schools, a universal system of education. He increased his narrow income by taking young men as pupils who lodged in the village. He also kept the accounts of the township, and, like the 'Wonderful Walker,' was able to make himself useful in various occupations. He was very abstemious, and in the early years of his residence at Halton Gill he lived quite alone, without

a servant of any kind in the house. In stature he was short, and in his latter years was rather corpulent. He was a good pedestrian, but he seldom entered the houses of his parishioners unless he was asked to make a parochial visit. It is not known that he ever took a holiday. His chief recreation was coming down to Arncliffe on Saturday afternoons to visit the curate who resided there, in order that he might read his weekly newspaper. His manner of life and conduct were most exemplary—no small praise when we bear in mind that he lived in an age which was not noted for the strictness of its morality, and when drunkenness was thought to be no great disgrace even among the clergy. And so amid such surroundings, he was called away at the advanced age of ninety-four years. His life and character are well depicted in those beautiful lines of the poet of the Lakeland in the sixth book of the ‘Excursion.’ For the curate of Halton Gill was one of those ministers—

‘Detach’d from pleasure, to the love of gain  
Superior, insusceptible of pride,  
And by ambitious longings undisturb’d ;  
Men, whose delight is where their duty leads  
Or fixes them ; whose least distinguished day  
Shines with some portion of that heavenly lustre  
Which makes the sabbath lovely in the sight  
Of blessed angels, pitying human cares.’

His body rests from its labours under a handsome monumental slab at the east end of the churchyard at Arncliffe, and a brass has been placed in the chancel of the church by the Venerable Archdeacon Boyd, which bears this inscription :

‘S.M. Thomæ Lindley de Halton Gill annos lxx presb: Vir eruditus vitâ moribusque simplex præ ceteris longævus. Obiit A.D. 1847. Ætatis suæ xciv.’

In the chapel at Hubberholme the Book of Common Prayer on the reading desk bears the following inscription:

‘Presented to the Chapel at Hubberholme by J. C. Ramsden, Esq., M.P., in token of respect to the Rev. Thomas Lindley, many years minister of that Chapel. November, 1833.’



## WILLIAM CARR

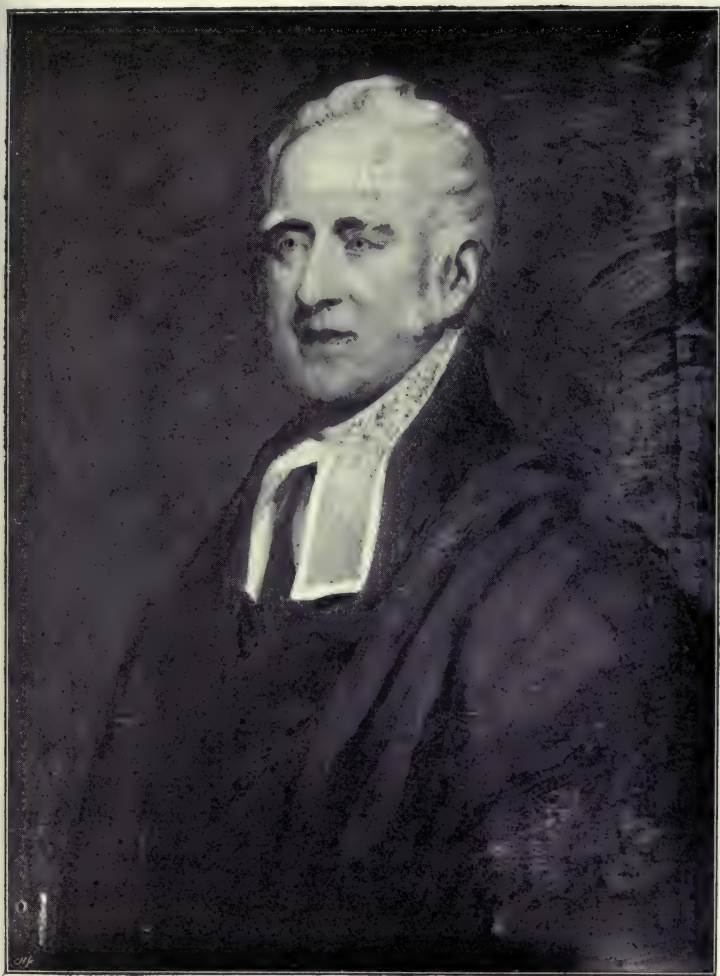
‘ . . . anticum genus ut pietate repletum  
Perfacile angustis tolerârit finibus ævum.’

LUCRET., ii. 1168.

‘ An ancient race, to simple duties vowed,  
In narrow bounds an easy life endured.’

To pay a visit to Bolton Abbey for the first time in one's life is an event never to be forgotten. To live there for fifty years is an inspiration in itself, and such we think the ‘worthy’ whose name stands at the top of this page must have found it during the long period of his incumbency.

He was a member of an ancient Craven family whose names appear in the records of this district for four centuries. The Carrs came originally from North-umberland. A branch of the family was established at Stackhouse as early as the fifteenth century. Stephen Carr was living at Stackhouse in 1483, and to the same generation belonged James Carr, described as priest and tutor, the founder of the Rood chantry in Giggleswick Church. He is mentioned in the Latin verses over the door of Giggleswick School, ‘Alma Dei Mater defende malis,’ etc. The subject of this memoir was



WILLIAM CARR, B.D.,  
INCUMBENT OF BOLTON ABBEY.



born in 1763 (baptized June 29), and educated at Giggleswick School, where one of his ancestors had been headmaster (John Carr [1688-1745], M.A., of Christ's College, Cambridge; he married Anne, daughter of W. Dawson, of Halton Gill). A part of the south aisle of Giggleswick Church is still known as the Carr Chapel. A window has recently been placed in this aisle as a memorial of the family by Mr. W. Carr, M.A., J.P., of Ditchingham Hall, Norfolk, the senior representative of the family, to whose kindness I am indebted for the portrait of his kinsman.

William Carr, after his education at Giggleswick, matriculated at University College, Oxford, in October, 1781. He gained a scholarship in 1782, took his B.A. degree in 1785, and was elected to a fellowship at Magdalen College in 1787. He proceeded to the degree of M.A. in the same year, and became a B.D. in 1795.

The period when Mr. Carr matriculated at the University was marked by much slothfulness and want of literary activity, but, as we hinted in the memoir of Dr. Croft, this was by no means the case at University College. And, on his appointment to a fellowship at Magdalen College, Carr would come into contact with the learned Dr. Horne, the President at that time, and with Dr. Routh, whose name and reputation will long be remembered in the University, and whose diligence, erudition, and piety did much to wipe away the reproach which Gibbon, not without some reason, cast at the college authorities of his own day (*cf.* Wilson's 'Magdalen College,' pp. 221-224).

In 1803 he received preferment from his college, when



he became Vicar of Aston Tirrold, and Tubney, near Oxford. The latter living was in those days a sinecure. The incumbent, on his appointment, was accustomed to drive to the parish, and as there was no church, he would 'read himself in' under a well-known tree.

But long before this time Mr. Carr had returned to Yorkshire. In August, 1789, he succeeded his elder brother in the incumbency of Bolton Abbey, where he continued to reside until his death. The Carrs had been incumbents of Bolton from the year 1726, for in that year James Carr, A.B. of Christ's College, Cambridge, Rector of Addingham, and grandfather of William, was appointed to the living. He died in 1745, and was succeeded by his son, Thomas Carr, A.M., of University College, Oxon., Vicar of Bugthorpe, and headmaster of Skipton Grammar School. After holding the living for some years, he resigned it in favour of his eldest son, Thomas, also of University College, Oxon., who died in 1789, and was succeeded by his brother William. Thus three generations of the same family were in charge of the spiritual interests of Bolton for a period of 117 years. The reader can imagine with what delight the young Craven student would return to his native district, how contented he would be to have the opportunity of settling down in such a lovely spot as that where Bolton Priory stands.

But we should be mistaken if we were under the impression that the surroundings of the Priory were very much as we see them now. No. They owe much of their picturesqueness to Mr. Carr. For it was he who induced the sixth Duke of Devonshire to consent to the opening out of the woods, the making of

beautiful peeps, and the construction of twenty-eight miles of roads and footpaths. And all this was done by the advice, and under the superintendence, of the Curate of Bolton. To his sagacity, indefatigable attention, and love of the beautiful, the woods and glens of Bolton owe much of their attractions. Their charms, which before had been 'long concealed and almost inaccessible,' were now made known to the public. Wordsworth ('Notes,' vol. iii.) records his appreciation of Mr. Carr's work at Bolton in these words: 'W. C. has most skilfully opened out its features; and, in whatever he has added, has done justice to the place, by working with an invisible hand of art in the very spirit of nature.'

But if he had a deep affection for the natural features of the country in which it was his lot to dwell, he had also at heart the temporal well-being and the spiritual interests of the inhabitants of the parish; for, as Dr. Whitaker says: 'The pursuits of taste are by no means incompatible with the active exertions of a good parish priest.' He was, in an age not famous for clerical strictness and devotion, a model pastor of the old sort. He was zealous in his parochial ministration, and it is said he knew all his parishioners so well that he could detect their absence from church on Sunday without difficulty. Consequently, on Monday mornings he was wont to ride round the parish on a white pony to make inquiries amongst the absentees as to the cause of their non-attendance on the previous day. A few of his sermons are still extant; by the kindness of the Rev. A. P. Howes, formerly Rector of Bolton—to whom I am under an obligation for several

details—I am able to give the reader a short extract from one of them. After dividing his subject into three heads, he proceeds: ‘There is some difficulty with respect to the literal meaning of a part of this narrative. The miracle as related by S. Matthew is easy to be understood, but S. Mark mentions that “the time of figs was not yet.” Hence, at the first view, it might be thought incredible that our Lord should look for figs at a season when, according to the Evangelist’s own confession, there was no probability of finding any. But the fact is, the time of figs means, not the season when, according to the fixed laws of Nature, no figs could be growing, but the time of *gathering* them; and as that time was not yet fully come, there was every reason to expect that the whole crop was upon the tree still ungathered. Thus, the very time in which we should expect to find wheat in a field that was sown with that grain would be just before the harvest, or, in other words, when the time of wheat-reaping was not yet come, and we should justly esteem it a very barren and unprofitable field if our expectations were thus disappointed. The fruit of the fig-tree grows at least as early as the leaves, and therefore, as the foliage was luxuriant, there was ground to hope that the fruit also was abundant. I thought good to mention this matter to show how very easily, with a little care and attention, apparent difficulties in Scripture may be removed, and thence to advise you not to stumble at trifling objections merely because you are not able to answer them, but rather to apply for instruction to those that are. Such, then, is the literal meaning of the miracle. As for its prophetic meaning,



all are agreed. The Jews had enjoyed every advantage of care and culture; they had been selected by a special Providence from the surrounding nations, and had been repeatedly admonished by their priests and their prophets, yet they constantly disappointed the expectations of their God. They professed themselves indeed His peculiar people, but they brought forth no fruit that was suited to that relation.' And then, applying the text, he continues: 'God expects His people to be fruitful in good works; nor will He acknowledge us if we disappoint His expectations. Many who make a great profession of religion appear at a distance to flourish abundantly; but the misfortune is, that when we approach nearer and examine more closely, we find nothing but leaves, and no fruit. Those who have the fairest outside have frequently nothing within but all kind of wickedness and corruption. It is a melancholy matter to think how small is the number of real disciples. Set aside those who openly reject the counsel of God against themselves, and set aside those who are hypocritical professors of religion, who are loud in their talk respecting godliness, who love to have the pre-eminence, who are wonderfully learned in matters of doctrine, and who have constantly the Gospel in their mouths, tho' I fear seldom in their hearts—set aside all these, and we shall indeed find the flock of Christ to be a little flock.'

In these days, when with many the era of education for the poor is supposed to have begun with the Education Act of 1870 and the advent of School Boards, it will be well to make a quotation, also from another of Mr. Carr's sermons. It was preached on behalf of



the National Society, that great Church organization which was founded in 1811, and which has done so much towards the education of the poor by assisting in the foundation of more than half of the Church schools now in existence. His text is taken from Exod. ii. 9, 10. After enlarging on the benefits of a religious bringing-up and education, he says :

‘ Another observation which we may gather from the history before us is this, that children owe more to those from whom they receive their education than they do to those from whom they derive their birth. It is, indeed, a most melancholy reflection that any should be born in a Christian land and yet should be strange to the saving truths of the Gospel. Nevertheless, it is not to be dissembled that there are some who live in Egyptian darkness even in the midst of Goshen. It is therefore wisely provided that National Schools should be formed as well for propagating Christian knowledge amongst the ignorant at home as amongst infidels or idolaters abroad. By the establishment of National Schools, that religious education which many poor children, thro’ distress and shameful neglect of their parents, wanted, is thro’ the bounty of well-disposed Christians, to their great comfort and blessing, supplied. . . . You have already heard the returns made this year by the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, and have heard the welcome news that this comprehensive plan of education has 3,084 places with schools in its connection affording religious instruction to nearly 400,000 children.’

This sermon would be preached nearly eighty years

ago, and we venture to think that it will be news to some of our readers to find Church schools so widely spread throughout the country, and the interest of the clergy so keen in this matter in the early years of the last century.

Before we leave the incumbent of Bolton Priory and his sermons it ought to be noted, for the benefit of any clerical readers, that the sermons, which are all written in a clear and bold hand, show traces of careful phraseology, and in some of them the author has carefully gone through his MS. after writing it, and has crossed out words which seemed on second thoughts to be difficult for the members of his flock, and he has inserted simpler words in their place—*e.g.*, ‘real’ instead of ‘genuine,’ ‘spreads’ for ‘diffuses,’ ‘expectation’ for ‘anticipation,’ ‘uneasiness’ for ‘solicitude.’ Would it not be well if some preachers took a hint from Mr. Carr, and thus simplified their language?

The incumbent of Bolton, like many of the clergy of his day, took a keen interest in agriculture, and farmed a small portion of land, and it is in connection with these farming operations that his name will probably live longest in Craven. Many of us are familiar with the sign of more than one inn in Craven called the ‘Craven Heifer,’ and the picture of the celebrated heifer is still to be found in many an old farmhouse in the neighbourhood; but most likely not all of us who have seen the picture are aware that the animal was bred by a Craven parson. The heifer, which was born in the year 1807, was bred at Bolton Priory by Mr. Carr.

By the kindness of the Rev. A. P. Howes, I am able to give some account of a journey which this celebrated heifer made, for show purposes, to Smithfield from Wakefield, in the care of G. Pickop and I. Kitchen. During the whole journey they seem to have received £164 1s. 1d., but they spent £172 5s. 7½d., and thus incurred a loss of something over £8. The animal was shown at Wakefield, and then the journey was continued by way of Pontefract, Doncaster, and Rotherham, arriving there on December 2, at the time of the fair, then on by Sheffield, Chesterfield, Alfretton, Ripley, Derby, Loughborough, Leicester, Market Harborough, Northampton, Newport Pagnell, Woburn, Dunstable, St. Albans, and Barnet, to Smithfield, which was reached on January 30, 1812. The time occupied in moving the animal from Wakefield to London was seventy-three days (November 19, 1811, to January 30, 1812), and from the numerous items of expenditure for 'carriage' or 'moving' it seems evident that she was conveyed in a van. The immense proportions of this beast are given in a copy of the following notice, which advertised her arrival in London :

'Just arrived—to be seen at the Cock Inn, Haymarket, a wonderful four-year-old Short Horn'd Craven Heifer, Bred and Fed by the Rev. W. Carr on one of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire's Estates at Bolton Abbey, near Skipton, in Craven, Yorkshire, now the property of Messrs. Watkinson and Co.

*'Dimensions.*

|   | Ft. | In. |
|---|-----|-----|
| Length from the nose to the top of<br>rump ... ..         | 11  | 4   |
| Height at the shoulder ... ..                             | 5   | 4   |
| Breadth over the back in three<br>different places ... .. | 3   | 3   |
| Girth behind the shoulder ... ..                          | 8   | 10  |
| „ in the thickest part of the body                        | 10  | 2   |
| „ over the loin ... ..                                    | 9   | 11  |
| „ round the fore-leg ... ..                               |     | 7   |

Weight, 312 stone, 8 lbs. to the stone.

‘Admittance, Ladies and Gentlemen, 1s.; Servants, 6d.

‘This beast is allowed by all who have seen her to be the largest and fattest of her age of any ever shown in England. An engraving of this fine heifer is now published, and may be had of the proprietor at one guinea each. Printed by W. Glindon, Rupert Street, Haymarket.’

Mr. Howes says: ‘During its five years’ existence (1807-1812) it was at once the wonder and admiration of the farmers in many an English Shire. At four years of age the animal was bought from Mr. Carr by one John Watkinson, of Halton East, for £200, and he travelled with it round the country; but, as we have heard, the speculation did not pay. In the end Watkinson allowed the heifer to be competed for in a cock-fight, an ignominious end to a beast that once grazed within the precincts of Bolton Priory. Its fame has been handed down by the picture, which has till



recently adorned the paper money of the Craven Banking Co.'

Mr. Carr's energies were not exhausted by his attention to farming and his parochial duties. He also devoted himself to one particular branch of literature, and was well known as an authority on archæology, and as an antiquary. He counted amongst his friends the celebrated Dr. Whitaker, the author of the 'History of Craven,' and it was Mr. Carr who first suggested that such a work ought to be undertaken by one who was so well qualified to do it. Dr. Whitaker acknowledges his obligations to him in the first edition of his work, where he says: 'My highly esteemed friend, the Reverend William Carr, B.D., Minister of Bolton Abbey and late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, as he first suggested the idea of the present work, has continued to urge it on through every part of its progress with a zeal and activity which merit my warmest thanks.' In the second edition he writes: 'While Mr. Carr, the unshaken friend of the author and his family, by diligent researches among the evidences of the Cliffords at Londesborough, has brought to light by far the most numerous and valuable additions to this volume'; so that the student of the history of Craven must hold in honour the memory of one who was the supporter and encourager of the author of that exquisite and never-to-be-forgotten record of the antiquities of this district. But Mr. Carr's greatest literary fame was achieved in philology.

In the year 1824 he published in two volumes 'Horæ Momenta Cravenæ; or, The Craven Dialect exemplified in Two Dialogues between Farmer Giles and

his Neighbour Bridget, to which is added a copious Glossary.' By a native of Craven. A second edition, much enlarged, was published in 1828 under the title of a 'Glossary of the Craven Dialect.' It was a bold venture. At that time there were few works of the kind. Those who are competent to judge on such a subject say that many of Mr. Carr's derivations are fanciful and inaccurate. However this may be, the work is a valuable record of old Craven words, of which the meaning is fast dying out among the natives of this part of the country. The present system of education is killing the dialects in every part of England. The writer of these pages, who has lived in his parish in the centre of Craven for over twenty years, finds that, although he is not a native, he knows more dialect words than the rising generation of his parishioners. In fact, he may say that the use of dialect words has almost ceased, but the old pronunciation of many words still lingers. Mr. Carr complains of the same process going on in his days: 'I can from my knowledge and experience testify that many words and expressions in Craven which were in constant use 30 or 40 years ago are either lost or imperfectly understood by the rising generation.' But, he truly remarks, many of the words used by old English authors are now unintelligible to the inhabitants of the southern part of this kingdom, though they are well understood by those who inhabit the North. For he maintains that what is called the Craven dialect is the old language uncorrupted.

In reading the Authorized Version in the services of the Church, one is often struck by the occurrence of phrases and words which would require explanation in

the South, but which are quite intelligible to those who live in Craven, such as: 'To loose,' at the end of a school session; 'to profer,' to offer; 'to bid'—*i.e.*, to invite to a funeral or feast; 'provender,' food for cattle; 'to straw,' to scatter about; 'to frame,' to endeavour; 'to summer' (of cattle), Isa. xviii. 6, still used as a verb in Craven; 'to throng,' to press upon, and 'to be throng,' *i.e.*, to be busy; 'collops,' slices of meat (Job xv. 27); 'gatherings,' collections (1 Cor. xvi. 2); 'meat,' still used of food generally.

All these words are in common use in Craven, but to speak in this way in the South would be to court a misunderstanding, and would savour of affectation.

Mr. Carr has made a dry subject interesting by the notes which he has introduced here and there into his glossary, giving the local traditions about a plant or tree, or an account of some quaint custom connected with a word. Of the Rowan tree, or witch hazel (*Sorbus aucuparia*), he says: 'A tree of wonderful efficacy in depriving witches of their infernal power, and she was accounted a very thoughtless housewife who had not the precaution to provide a churn staff made of this precious wood. When thus guarded, no witch, however presumptuous, had the audacity to enter. Sometimes a small piece of it was suspended from the buttonhole, which had no less efficacy in defending the traveller. May not the sailor's wife in "Macbeth" have confided in the divine aid of this tree when she triumphantly exclaimed, "Aroynt thee!" (alias a royn-tree). "With the supernatural aid of this" (pointing, it may be supposed, at the royn-tree in her hand), "I defy this infernal power!" The event



evidently proved her security ; for the witch, having no power over her, so completely protected, indignantly and spitefully resolves to persecute her inoffensive, though unguarded, husband on his voyage to Aleppo.'

On the word 'pitcher,' he remarks: 'To pitcher a man—or, as it is frequently called, "pitchering"—is a ludicrous ceremony observed in Craven (now obsolete) when a person goes to see his sweetheart the first time. It is performed thus: One of the young inmates of the family takes a small pitcher, and half fills it with water; he then goes, attended by his companions, and, presenting it to the lover, demands a present in money. If he is disposed to give anything, he drops his contribution into the pitcher, and they retire without further molestation. He is thus made a *free-man*, and can quietly pay his visits in future without being subject to any similar exaction. But if, after repeated demands, the lover refuse to pay his contribution, he is either saluted with the contents of the pitcher, or a *row* ensues, in which the water is spilt and the pitcher is broken.'

Mr. Carr's literary works gained him many friends, amongst whom the most celebrated was the poet Wordsworth, who stayed with him at Bolton Parsonage, and probably at that time went over that portion of the country which he describes so well in his poem, 'The White Doe of Rylstone.' Sir Edward Landseer was also sometimes a guest at the Parsonage.

Besides his duties as perpetual curate of Bolton parish (the living was not made into a rectory until the year 1864), the subject of this memoir was also master of the Grammar School, which had been



founded by the Hon. Robert Boyle in A.D. 1700. The building, which is now used as the Rectory, served at that time for both parsonage and schoolroom, and the building at the east end of this house was erected in Mr. Carr's days as a Sunday-school. For many years he was assisted in his scholastic duties by a Mr. Umplesby, who was also assistant curate, and he eventually succeeded to the incumbency. Mr. Carr was never married, but his home was kept bright and cheerful by the presence of three nieces, the Misses Crofts, who looked after his domestic concerns. They all survived him, and one of them (Mary Crofts) married Mr. W. Sidgwick of Skipton, and became the mother of Mrs. Benson, the wife of the late Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Benson always had a strong affection for Bolton. In his early years it is recorded in his biography that he visited the Priory a few years after Mr. Carr's death, and then wrote to Mrs. Mary Sidgwick (the mother of his future wife): 'The ever-glorious and the sacred scenes of Bolton—for such I feel them to be in a way I cannot describe nor fully account for—did my heart and mind worlds of good. When I reached the Abbey, I went first to the graves (of Sidgwick's, Carrs, and Crofts). The two were in nice order. I cleaned out the word "Presbyter," which was obscured, and freed the cross from some decayed leaves which had gathered on it, but I did not disturb the green moss till I heard from you. If it will not hurt the stone, its light fresh green is beautiful, and touching, too. I did the same by the others.'

Mr. Carr was noted for his genial manners and generous hospitality. He was a good raconteur. There

is a story which I must not omit, for he often told it to those who assembled at his table. The Duke of Devonshire (probably the sixth of that name) was accustomed to invite some of his tenants to an annual dinner at the Hall. On one of these occasions there was a certain widow who partook freely of the viands, and seemed thoroughly to enjoy herself. With the dessert the usual finger-glasses appeared, whereupon the widow immediately drank the contents of the one which had been placed before her. The footman, who saw what had occurred, with a smile filled the glass again, and again the widow consumed the contents. A servant, to keep up the joke, filled it once more, and this time the widow, with a look of dismay, merely said, 'Thou'll bust me!' On the next day some of her friends happened to ask how she liked the Duke's dinner. Her reply was that she liked it all very much except the 'watter-course.'

Many other amusing stories are known to have come from his lips during his long life at Bolton. He was fortunate in possessing good bodily health and a fine presence. He continued his parochial labours till within a few weeks of his death, which occurred in the summer of 1843. He was buried within the ruins of the Priory on July 25, and the following inscription has been placed on the handsome monumental stone which marks his resting-place:

'Gulielmus : Carr : P.'B.'R. : hujus : loci : per : annos : LIII : sacellanus : obiit : octogenarius : anno : XPI : MDCCCXLIII.' (*i.e.*, W<sup>m</sup> Carr, Priest, Minister of this Parish for 54 years, died 80 years of age, in the year of Christ 1843).

## JOHN SAUL HOWSON

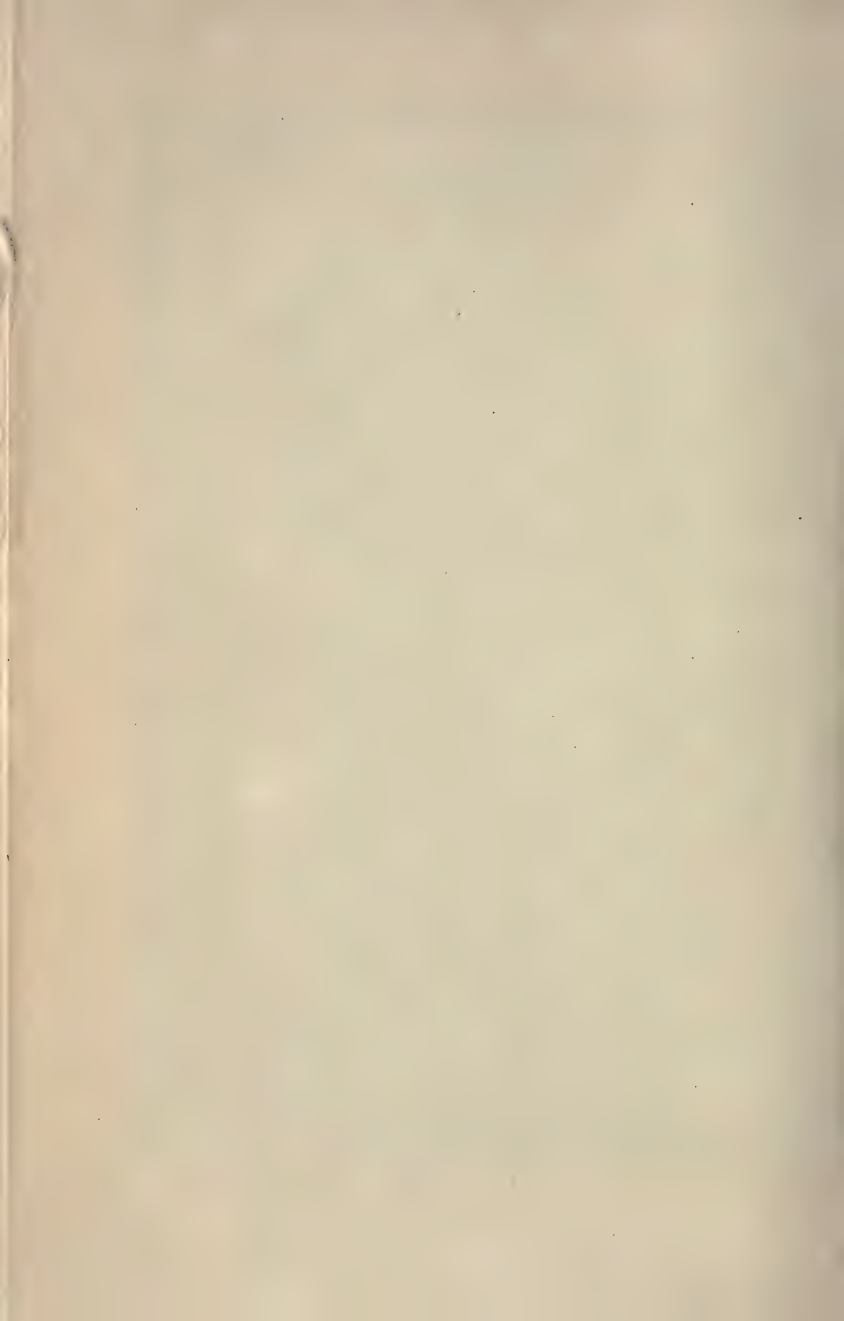
THE surname which stands at the head of this page can be found in the parish register of Giggleswick Church as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. The father of the late Dean of Chester, the Rev. John Howson (born in 1788, died January 23, 1859) was second master of Giggleswick School for forty-five years. He married Margaret Saul, of Bentham, by whom he had six sons and one daughter. The future Dean was the eldest of the family. As he has told the story of his own life so simply and so well in a short autobiography, which I am able to reproduce through the kindness of a friend, I cannot do better than introduce it here, adding some additional information for which I am indebted chiefly to his eldest son, the Rev. G. J. Howson, Rector of Christ Church, Salford, who has published a short memoir of his father, which is prefixed to the Dean's little work on 'The Diaconate of Women in the Anglican Church.'

The Dean says: 'I was born on May 5, 1816. I well remember how the battle of Waterloo used to be the epoch in conversation when I was a boy. . . . The earliest thing I remember is the death of George III.,



JOHN SAUL HOWSON, D.D.,  
DEAN OF CHESTER.





and the recollection is very distinct. My father was walking into Settle with my hand in his, and we met a friend, who said, "The King is dead." I suppose the thoughts involved in the words "king" and "death" made a deep impression upon me. My father's house being full of boarders, all our employments were regulated on the hours of school. I believe that I went to school at six years of age, and that before I was eight I had said the Latin Grammar through four times without understanding a single word of it; indeed, without the least idea that it was intended to have any meaning. Suddenly I observed that, if the parts of speech are eight, "declined and undeclined" made the whole number up to ten. This raised an enquiry in my mind which I can remember as a distinct intellectual movement. Meantime I could say the Latin Grammar by heart. I was never very fond of games. I played cricket very badly, but I enjoyed football, especially when there was a violent scrimmage. I used to play marbles by the hour with a boy named Thomas Whitaker, who was my dear and intimate friend. We used to wander on holidays over the hills in search of flowers. I fancy that we both were very full of boyish poetry. He was nearer heaven than I was in more senses than one. I remember his stopping at the stile just below the mains, and speaking of the sunset as though it were the very gate of heaven. He went soon afterwards to Macclesfield School, and died there very young. I still possess some of his letters. I am sorry to say that I was very passionate. One instance affords an illustration of my father's admirable mode of management. In a quarrel with a boy named Ken-

worthy I hit him on the head with a ruler and inflicted a very bad wound, so that the surgeon was sent for from Settle in haste. My father said nothing to me, but simply told me to remain in the room where Kenworthy was put to bed. I well remember the agony with which I knelt down and prayed for Divine pardon, and the terrible punishment which came to me through hearing and seeing the other boys at play in the sunshine. Some incidents which I recall were comical. We had a boy at school named O'Reilly, who had been at Eton and was a capital cricketer. His Latin and Greek, however, were very defective. He lodged at Miss Craggs', and he asked me to go and see two white mice. No sooner was I entered into the room than he locked the door, and said he would give me a sound thrashing unless I made his Latin verses for the week. I knew the weight of his fist too well to refuse. The verses were made with due admixture of blunders, and I was rewarded by seeing his white mice.

'It was a great disadvantage to me that I was at the head of the School at an early age. In consequence of this my father at one time entertained the idea of sending me to Shrewsbury for two years. My mother, however, was opposed to this, and it was decided to send me to Trinity College, Cambridge, at seventeen. I was idle and desultory at school, and my father thought that the severe conflict to which I should be thus exposed would have a bracing effect upon me. So far he was right. Before I leave my boyhood I ought to add that my father's botanical tastes led me to an early study of plants, which has been of the utmost service to me ever since. Not that I was in any sense

scientific, but I ranged over the whole neighbourhood and knew the habitat of every flower, and ever since have enjoyed the advantage of intelligently observing vegetable forms and colours.

‘CAMBRIDGE.—My career at Cambridge was dwarfed by my going to the University so young. I succeeded, however, in obtaining a good many prizes both in the College and in the University, and in securing a place in the first class on taking my degree in both classics and mathematics. My mother died in the autumn of 1834, when I was spending my first long vacation at home. I had the comfort of being with her constantly during her last painful illness till within two or three days of the end. I remember her saying to me that I had never caused her a moment’s anxiety. I wondered then, as I wonder now, at a mother’s power of forgetting. As I dictate, I call to mind my father’s agony of grief when he told me on the morning of her death that he had lost his best adviser. I have omitted to say that during two vacations immediately preceding this I had been sent to read with an eminent mathematician named Slee, near Ullswater. It was at that time that my intimacy with the Lake Country began, which has been a delight to me ever since. Intellectually, Cambridge was everything to me. It would be impossible for me to describe my obligations to my College and my University. Men of eminence were all around me, and all the subjects of the day opened themselves out with absorbing interest. This, however, is not the highest debt to Cambridge which ought to be reverently recorded. As regards religious influence, I will first mention two circumstances. I



heard Simeon's latest sermons, and was present at his funeral. Once, when he preached on the text "That in all things He might have the pre-eminence," he began his sermon as follows: "The pre-eminence He must have, the pre-eminence He shall have." And the old man quivered so violently with emotion that for some time he could not speak. In another sermon I remember his saying that no man could reach heaven unless he had discovered his besetting sin. I am just old enough to have heard the Rev. Hugh James Rose's last sermon in S. Mary's. Some of Melville's sermons in that church I vividly recollect. Another circumstance to which I must refer was this: that at that time a very large number of the most distinguished classics and mathematicians in the University were distinctly religious men, teaching in a well-known Sunday-school, visiting the poor in the neighbouring villages, promoting zeal in Missions, etc. Among these my chief friends were found. I took my degree in 1837, and that year I went with two pupils to Ambleside, one of them being the second son of the Vicar of Gargrave. This stay at Ambleside gave me an opportunity of making the acquaintance of F. W. Faber. I also became acquainted with Hartley Coleridge, and had the honour of one walk with Wordsworth, during which he pointed out the trees which came earliest and latest into leaf. Another memorable opportunity was becoming acquainted with Dr. Arnold. During that long vacation the Queen's accession took place, and we had great excitement in Ambleside. This period of my life distinctly connects itself with the beginning of my friendship with A. P. Stanley, whom I was in the habit

of seeing year by year till the day of his death. I had memorable visits to Oxford at this exciting time.

‘TRAVELLING.—After leaving Cambridge, I became tutor in succession to the Marquis of Sligo, the present Duke of Argyll, and the present Duke of Sutherland, not, indeed, without interruption. But I may group these subjects together, because of the valuable opportunities they gave me of travelling.

‘LIVERPOOL.—After quitting the Duke of Argyll, I came to help my friend, Mr. Conybeare, as Senior Classical Master in the Liverpool College, then called the Collegiate Institution. From this work I was invited to become tutor to the Duke of Sutherland, and after this I was invited to become Head of the College, which post I held for more than sixteen years. The character of this group of schools was peculiar and very interesting. There was an upper school for those who were destined for the Universities and those of the same class. There was a lower school at a level higher than the highest national school. Between the two there was a middle school. Thus I was encouraged to mature a system of promotion which had excellent results. Several who attained high distinction in the Universities had been in the lower school. It is desirable to state accurately another feature of these schools: they were distinctly religious, being based on Church of England principles with a conscience clause, and they had risen in this form out of the great conflicts of the time. I had no greater happiness during this period of my life than that which I spent every morning with my senior pupils in reading the Greek Testament. On the other hand, when I undertook this office there was a debt of £8,000 upon

the building, and the schools dwindling. I began with about 450 pupils, and ended with about 900, with 36 masters under me, and £10,000 had then been saved. One very important step, as I regard it, in this period of my life was that I was enabled to found in Liverpool a girls' college on the same general principles. This was an anticipation of the system of high schools which has recently come into existence, but with this difference, that the school was under its own directors, without any "company," and that it was distinctly religious. . . .

‘LITERARY WORK.—A large amount of the occupation of my life being of this kind, it is convenient to place it all under one head separately. After some slight descriptive papers in a periodical called the *Cambridge Portfolio*, I wrote some that were more elaborate on "The Antiquities of Argyllshire" in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society*. . . . I may add that about this time I edited a little work on the Greek Church, with some notes of my own. More important writing, as I felt it to be, followed in the *Quarterly Review*. The first article I wrote there was upon Greece. Subsequently I wrote articles on French, Algeria, on the Geography and Biography of the Old Testament, and on Dean Milman. Thus I had the honour of being included sometimes in parties of *Quarterly Review* writers, at Mr. Murray's, at Wimbledon and elsewhere. About the time of the beginning of my work at Liverpool, the agreement was made with my friend Mr. Conybeare to publish a book on "The Life and Epistles of S. Paul," with a view of presenting the Apostle in proper combination with the circumstances which surrounded him, and with his own



writing, the translation being undertaken by him, and the descriptive parts by myself. This book was published in 1852, and had a great success. We made, however, a very unfortunate bargain with Messrs. Longman, the publishers. About the same time my marriage with Miss Cropper of Dingle Bank, Liverpool, took place. An article of mine which was printed in the *Quarterly Review* in the autumn of 1860 on the subject of Deaconesses was published afterwards in a volume with enlargement, and led to important results in much discussion, and in the founding of "Deaconesses' Institutions." I was appointed Hulsean Lecturer at Cambridge in 1860, and my lectures on the "Character of S. Paul" have been fortunate enough to reach a third edition. About the same time I was made Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Ely, and was thus brought into the most interesting contact with his ordinations during many years. I am responsible for the publication of somewhat frequent pamphlets, and sermons, and articles in *Good Words* and other magazines. I have also published the following books: "Meditations on the Miracles of Our Lord"; "Essays on the Metaphors of S. Paul"; "The Companions of S. Paul"; and lectures delivered at Philadelphia on "The Evidential Value of the Acts of the Apostles." At the present moment a book on the Collects and another on Saints' Days are about to appear.

'Mention must here be made of Convocation at York, a scene of official duty during the years since I occupied my present post. The subjects which have been discussed there have been of the most animated and various kinds, and have implied a close contact with



public religious questions of the utmost importance. I have also had my full share of sermons in the University pulpits of Oxford and Cambridge, and in Westminster Abbey and S. Paul's. Here I think I ought to name visits to the United States in 1871 and 1880, during the former of which I attended with Bishop Selwyn the meeting of the General Convention of our sister Church in America, and during the latter preached the annual sermon at the Diocesan Convention of Connecticut. It is impossible to refer to these occasions without naming the opportunities thus gained for making the acquaintance of the American poets, Bryant, Longfellow, Emerson, Whittier, and Wendell Holmes, and without referring to some days spent at Ottawa, a place of extraordinary interest in connection with our hopes for the future.

‘WORK IN CHESTER.—After somewhat more than ten years of this kind in Liverpool, my health began to fail, and I thought it better to resign my post at the head of the College, which was flourishing. After a rest of six months, the Bishop of Ely appointed me to the Vicarage of Wisbech, in Cambridgeshire, and that post I held for about fourteen months. During these months a new mission church was inaugurated. The late Lord Derby then appointed me to the Deanery of Chester. His letter contained a most gratifying allusion to my work in Liverpool. The fabric of Chester Cathedral was then very much dilapidated, some parts of it being indeed in a dangerous condition. I undertook the work of restoration in conjunction with the late Sir Gilbert Scott, and during the ten years between 1868 and 1878 I was fortunate enough to obtain the sum of about

£100,000 for that purpose. The public must judge of the result. During the eighteen years I have spent in Chester, I have been desirous that the general usefulness of the Cathedral, and its free and friendly connection with all parts of the Diocese, should be increased. One beneficial change, too, which has been secured has been a large increase of preaching, and especially great benefit has resulted from the establishment of choral evening services in the nave. During recent years restorative and decorative work has been prosecuted without intermission. . . . Chester has a school older than Giggleswick.' (N.B.—This autobiography was originally written by the Dean for the *Giggleswick School Magazine*.) 'Its King's School or Cathedral School was founded by Henry VIII, and it has been my happiness to take a successful part in bringing this school into wider life, more general usefulness, and active contact with the Universities. . . . I am rather proud of a motto which I have composed for this school, and I send it from Chester as a blessing to Giggleswick, "Rex dedit benedicat Deus." Among collateral enterprise has been the founding of a girls' school in Chester of a higher kind, on principles similar to those in Liverpool. This school has been thoroughly successful in winning public confidence and obtaining a large number of pupils. Finally, I may include here, as a successful work in Chester, the recovery of the Theological College at Birkenhead, through the happy co-operation of zealous friends, from a state of serious decay, and its restoration to large and growing usefulness.

'LAST WORDS.—These notes were in fragments at a

time of somewhat serious illness. I wish to record my thankfulness for the domestic comfort which surrounds me. Of my five children, three are sons. The eldest, George John, is the Rector of Overton in the Diocese of S. Asaph (now of Christ Church, Salford); the second, Edmund Whytehead, is a master at Harrow; and the third, Francis James, is senior Curate of the parish of Lambeth (now Vicar of Christ Church, Chester).

‘The Deanery, Chester,  
Oct. 13, 1885.’

The Dean's son says: ‘I cannot help thinking that he felt that his work of activity in this world was drawing to a close a year or two before he died, for often he used to say: “I want to give the rest of my life to devotional reading and practical spiritual good. I do not wish to enter any more into the world of controversy; I must leave that to others.” The last two books, which appeared just at the time of his death, are instances of this wish. Still, he died in harness. On Sunday week before he entered into his rest (he died at Bournemouth, December 15, 1885, and Mrs. Howson survived him only a few days), he had finished the work of handing over all the care of the Cathedral into other hands; and when he had done this, it seemed that his active work was done. “Rest and peace for me” were some of his last words, and indeed that was a true experience. It was a touching incident in his last hours that a book, “Our Collects, Epistles, and Gospels,” he had much looked forward to publishing should have arrived the night before he died, and the first copy of



which he had intended for my mother. She who had with lovely devotion, in spite of her severe accident, travelled hither, was brought to his bedside at his whispered request, and he with great difficulty placed it in her hands. The other, "Thoughts for Saints' Days," which was to appear at the same time, came from the publisher the day before my mother was called home. In the second of these two volumes, the last chapter is devoted to the subject of the death of a Christian in its aspect of "Sleep in Jesus," and it closes with words most indicative of his own life: "David, after he had served his own generation, fell on sleep." I cannot refrain from giving a sketch of a sermon he himself gave me just before my ordination on that text, to show what it seems must have been constantly before him as his ideal of Christian service:

“INTRODUCTION.—Here we have S. Peter's view of the life and death of David. The view of any great man of another is sure to be interesting. (1) Life a service. Whose I am and Whom I serve. I serve Jesus Christ. (2) Sphere of service. Our own generation. God's appointed place. (3) Consecrating principle of service. The will of God. (4) Its end and reward. Falling asleep. Compare the expression used of the death of S. Stephen.

“CONCLUSION.—Exhortation that our life should be in accordance with this.”

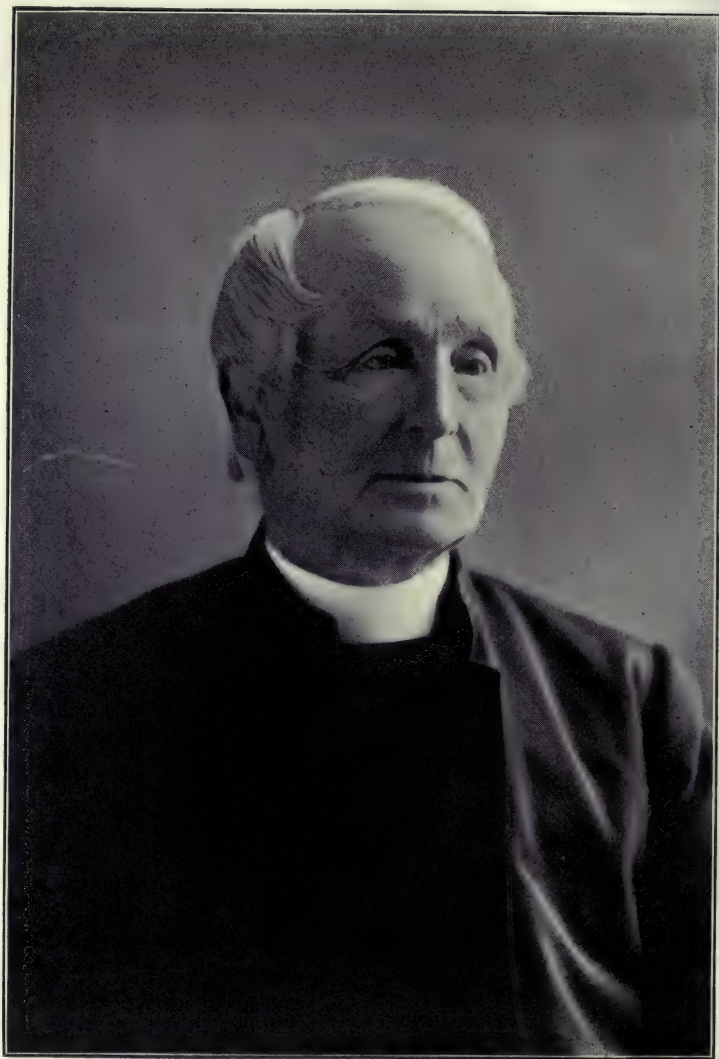
‘Perhaps a son may be allowed to mark some characteristics of his father's life as an example to all time, though he shrinks from criticising the personal goodness of his character. Two grand features of my father's life seem to be characteristic of him. The first was



this: a strong sense of self-control and of sobriety. The second was his habit of doing things thoroughly and without waste of time. As an instance of this fact I may just quote a thing he used often to say: "Always try to do things with both hands;" and to indicate the latter habit: "I have often written a Sermon amongst the oil cans and tow in the porters' cabin at a roadside station."

'Of his personal character, let others well known to him and to the world speak: "I shall always think of your father as one of the very whitest souls I have met in the course of my pilgrimage. You must console yourself with the thought that few men in this generation will part with a father whose life was of equal value, whose character was so noble and Christian, and who leaves behind him such permanent memorials of life. There was a moderation in spite of his zeal, a charity towards others, notwithstanding the strength of his convictions, as he opposed them, and a peculiar freshness which one does not often find in men of his age. We shall sorely miss him in council, the Church will miss him, but, above all, how will you not all miss him! Life is a much poorer and sadder business to me from the death of one who has been to me like a kindly sunshine.'"





WILLIAM BOYD, M.A.,  
ARCHDEACON OF CRAVEN.

## WILLIAM BOYD

‘Some there are in every age whose blessed office it seems to be rather to impart tone and colouring to the circle in which they move than to influence the historical facts of their time. They are to society what sunshine is to a landscape, or expression to the human face. Remove them in thought from the scene in which they play their part, and the facts are observed to survive unaltered; but that nameless grace which beautifies existence, that secret charm which imparts to the daily intercourse all its sweetness, has fled.’

‘THE Patriarch of the Dales’ was the significant phrase which was once used by the present Bishop of Ripon when speaking of the life and work of the subject of this memoir. And it was a well-chosen epithet when one bears in mind that Archdeacon Boyd’s ministry and interest in the Church life of Craven extended over a period of fifty-eight years. So that although we cannot claim him as a ‘Craven worthy’ by birth, yet his long and useful life in this locality entitles him to a place amongst those whose careers deserve an honourable mention, and whose lives added something to the general welfare of their parish and diocese. He belonged to an old and well-known Northumbrian family. His father was a member of



a firm of bankers in Newcastle-on-Tyne, and it was in that city that his second son, William, the future Archdeacon of Craven, first saw light on April 21, 1809. He was educated at Witton le Wear under the Rev. Mr. Newby, and after distinguishing himself at school, he matriculated at University College, Oxford, on June 29, 1827. It was, of course, before the time of railways, and he was accustomed to relate how he, and other North Countrymen, used to ride in company to Oxford, spending several pleasant days upon the journey. University College was no doubt chosen in preference to other colleges, from its connection with Northumberland and the County of Durham. Several Fellowships at the college were in those days tenable only by graduates who had been born in those counties.

The position and tone of the College at that time are thus described by a friend and contemporary of W. Boyd—Mr. W. H. Rooper: ‘I left school in 1828, and went into residence at University College, Oxford. Dr. Rowley was Master, and the Reverend F. Plumptre, who succeeded him, was senior tutor and Dean. The Reverend I. Watts was junior tutor. The number of undergraduates was only forty, and most of them were sons of North Country gentlemen. The College was more famous for the prowess of its members in the hunting-field than for hard reading. Several of my contemporaries, however, graduated in honours, and some rose to eminence. Robert Gray became Bishop of Capetown, and A. Oxenden Metropolitan of the Church in Canada. Lord Sherbrooke, better known as Bob Lowe, was a little junior to me. Archdeacon Boyd told me a story of Bob Lowe which shows the goodness of his heart. A

Fellowship at University College had become vacant, and Archdeacon Boyd meant to stand, but his prospect of winning it was hopeless if Bob Lowe stood against him. The latter called one day, and said : " I have other chances of getting a Fellowship ; I will not stand for this one." This formidable opponent being removed, Boyd was duly elected Fellow of University College.

In addition to the names mentioned above, we may also add those of George Clarke, afterwards an Archdeacon in the Welsh Church ; W. Fox, better known as Sir W. Fox, Governor of Auckland ; and G. B. Twining, as friends and associates at the same College. W. Boyd rowed in his College ' Eight ' in 1831 and 1832, and he might have had the honour of being included in the inter-'Varsity Boat Race for one of those years ; but as he was anxious to win his Fellowship, he was obliged to decline this coveted distinction. He graduated as B.A. in 1831, and M.A. in 1833, in double honours, taking a third class in Classics, and a first class in Mathematics. For a short time after gaining his Fellowship (June, 1833) he was a mathematical tutor in the college. About this time he made the first of those tours on the Continent in which he delighted, and in which he indulged even in old age. His companion in this tour was George Clarke, and they travelled through France, Switzerland, and Italy. He was ordained deacon at Oxford on May 25, 1834, and for a few months he acted as curate of Newburn-on-Tyne. In June, 1835, he returned to Oxford, and was ordained priest on the 19th of that month.

In the same year the living of Arncliffe, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, which was then in the gift of the

College, became vacant by the death of Mr. Norton. As Mr. Boyd was a North Countryman, he was sent by the Master and Fellows to inspect the vacant living, and to report to the College. He thus describes the first visit to what was to be his future home for the rest of his life. (He came accompanied by his eldest brother, Mr. Robert Boyd.) 'They journeyed from Newcastle to Ripon in one of those famous old stage coaches—the "Highflyer." They had to leave the northern turnpike road, and strike directly west from Ripon. Staying at the hotel, they inquired for a trap to take them to Arncliffe. They were a little surprised to find that no one in the "yard" or anywhere else had ever heard the name of such a place, much less of its whereabouts. Arncliffe? No; no such place about here. At last, after some delay and inquiry, a man and horse were found. "He knew a famous big rock," he said, "called Kilnsey Crag, and he fancied Arncliffe was near that." They started in the afternoon of a day in March, but the horse grew tired, or lame, or both, and darkness overtook them before they reached their destination. Staying all night at a clean little "public" at Kilnsey, they drove four miles the next day up the valley of the Skirfare, and reached the little secluded village of Arncliffe. The Vicarage was found to be a well-built stone house in the midst of a field. It was not easy, however, to judge of its accommodation, for one part of it was filled with wool and another was used as the "poor house," and Betty Simpson was off "sticking," and she had the key in her pocket' (*cf.* 'Littondale, Past and Present,' p. 2).

The future Vicar then returned to Oxford, and gave



in his report to the College, little thinking that the offer of the living would be made to himself, as he was the junior Fellow. But it was refused by one Fellow after another, although at that time a stipend of £500 per annum was allowed by the College to the Fellow who became Vicar. However, one felt himself unable to go on account of the absence of any medical aid within a moderate distance, another preferred to wait for a living in a hunting district, and a third was dismayed at the isolation which the holding of such a cure involved.

So the offer came at last to the junior Fellow, who decided to leave Oxford and become the spiritual pastor of this remote parish. His unique experience at his interview with the Archbishop and first arrival in the village as Vicar shall be given in his own words. He took an early opportunity of going to York, for the Archbishop of York (Harcourt) was at that time his diocesan. The Diocese of Ripon was not formed until 1836 :

‘After a short conversation with the Archbishop, and on saying that he had come to be instituted to the living of Arncliffe, His Grace sharply said : “ Arncliffe ! Arncliffe ! I have no such living in my diocese, sir.” He rang for his registrar, who on referring to his books found that it was in the far west of his diocese. Of course, the Archbishop was obliged to be satisfied, and then went through the necessary forms of institution, wondering, he said, that such a young fellow should think of burying himself in such seclusion.’

The Archbishop’s ignorance of the place is easily accounted for by the fact that no vacancy of the living



had occurred since 1808 ; and as Bishops in those days were not so diligent in visiting their outlying churches as now, it is not wonderful that Arncliffe, which is some fifty miles from York, should have been quite a *terra incognita*. On his arrival at the church gates on his first Sunday, the Vicar was duly met and welcomed by two churchwardens, and their welcome to him, if warm and real, was yet, to a stranger to the district, somewhat singular. The elder said : ‘ Ye’re varra young,’ to which the Vicar replied with happy readiness : ‘ Well, sir, whatever other faults I may have, that’s one of which I shall mend every day.’ The younger man, with great warmth and a kindly handshake, was content with saying, ‘ I’se glad ye’re cum.’

And now what kind of a place was the Arncliffe of those days when this young Fellow of University College determined to settle down to pastoral work ? It was a beautifully situated, but most remote, parish at the head of Upper Wharfedale. To use his own words : ‘ Arncliffe is situated in the “ Dales,” which I suppose may be described as those districts which lie near the sources of our rivers, where the little rivulets and tributaries water narrow valleys which run up to the watershed of a country separated from one another by more or less elevated ridges, and where the scanty “ Dales,” consisting entirely of grass land, afford occupation to a few labourers and their families. Our population, as a rule, lies in the valleys or Dales—a few houses scattered on the moors are the exception ; for example, I cannot go from my parish north, south, or west to any neighbouring village, not in our own Dale, without mounting nearly 1,000 feet.

‘Our villages are situated about two or three miles from each other, each holding from 50 to 100 people more or less. In my own case, the principal village in the Dale where the Church is situated contains 150 people, with two villages two miles away with fifty people in each. We have usually few resident land-owners, but we still have some of those old-fashioned class of proprietors who farm their own land—Yeomen as we call them, or Statesmen, forming a wholesome link between the big landowner and the tenant farmer.’

Such is his own account of the general condition of the parish in which he made his home in 1835. And he says in another place :

‘In those days communication with the outer world was slight. Railway or Post Office there was none, and the carrier after a journey of thirty-two miles used to bring up on Saturday night our most anxiously looked-for letters. Ordinarily we could not answer them till the following Friday night, when the carrier used to arrive at Skipton in time for the mail to the South, where they reached Charing Cross in some forty hours. The railway did not reach Leeds till somewhere about the year 1840, and then it hesitated to proceed to Skipton for many a day.’

We need scarcely inform our readers that things have changed at Arncliffe in this respect since that time. The opening of the Skipton and Grassington Railway in the year 1902, and the introduction of the telegraph into the Dale, have made the village more accessible and in touch with the outer world. The first work to which the young Vicar set his hand was the enlarge-

ment and improvement of the Vicarage. There had been no resident Vicar for more than half a century, and the Vicarage and its surroundings were cold and uninviting. Accordingly, several rooms were added to the house, and a picturesque garden was laid out around it, trees were planted, and other improvements effected. The following quaint letter was written to W. Boyd by a friend and Fellow of the College who had just accepted a country living, and had been carrying out similar alterations in his own parsonage :

‘ December 30, 1835.

‘ DEAR BOYD,

‘ I plead guilty to your charge of silence, tho’ not of forgetfulness or negligence. . . . If a man can keep single he is of infinitely more ministerial use to a Parish, if a large one especially, and the perfection of clerical utility I conceive to be most nearly attainable in this life with a religious sister who objects not to be *παρθένος μακρόν δὴ χρόνον* (don’t forget the force of the *δὴ*), or, who has lost one, and wishes not for another husband. Nevertheless, a wife is of much use among the womenkind, and *hoc genus omne*. With their gossiping tongues and little winning ways they can touch on some sympathetic chord, which opens an access to the heart, that men could never gain. My dear wife is a good soul, and I believe takes well with the poor, and when we get thoroughly settled and used to our new life, I do not doubt that she will, under God’s blessing, be a “helpmeet for me.” She read your letter, and gives the verdict in your favour. I must say *οὐκ ἀδωροτατως*, for you are a bit of a favourite, and she



desires, when you write, that she may be kindly remembered to your sister. Touching your own celibacy, I think you are right in forming a matrimonial *προαίρεσις*. But who will be the lady is another matter. I am sure my wife could not be happy there with her South-Country notions of society. If B—— had a sister, she would be the person. Be careful, dear Boyd, in your choice. It will be *Cæsar aut nullus* with you. And you deserve a superior woman. Only do be sure you marry in the Lord. And recollect on this head women are really very deceitful, having first deceived themselves. I would come a long way to tie the knot if no earlier friend were near. . . . You will think I judge right in rebuilding on an elevated site with most beautiful scenery at command, though it is nothing so grand as Arncliffe. We mean the first peregrination which we take to visit you; that was all which you were to understand by my much misunderstood letter.

‘I had in my own mind projected several plans for the alteration of your house. I should add to the already square house a side—as under—projecting east and west, with one south window, and one east in drawing-room and dining-room, one of which would be over the other. There would be a little hitch about the outlet of the new stairs, but any architect would put that right. Indeed, if my memory serves me now as to the locality of the bedroom, I could make it go right myself, having with that most obliging of men, F. P.’ (F. Plumptre, afterwards Master of the College), ‘drawn some twenty plans for the patching of K——, and for rebuilding *in toto*. All this, recollect, in answer to your request two letters ago. You would get two



good attics over the new part, a store-room with a fire, and borrowed light from half your present right-hand sitting-room; the other half would be a passage from the Hall. Cut away the present best staircase. Make a small room over it. Turn kitchen into your own study; a most beautiful one, too, it will make. Turn the left-hand sitting-room into kitchen, and put a double window, as it looks west. Run a wall, as dotted line, to west of new entrance as far as plantation, to keep out the not gentle zephyr. Cover it with ivy or small plantation; there must be a hole for the pretty brook. You may fancy this house large, but take my advice: do have your house large enough for plenty of friends at a time, and (as the Master prophesies most boldly of your *παιδοποιία*) for plenty of Boydiculi. . . . My better half is now calling on me to walk out, and I *must* obey. . . .’

Mr. Boyd carried out the alterations in the Vicarage very much on the lines suggested in this interesting letter. And he also followed his friend’s advice and example in taking a wife. He married Miss Isabella Twining on October 11, 1836, whose father was a partner in the well-known firm of Twining and Co. in the Strand, and she proved herself to be a very sympathetic and devoted helpmeet for him during the long period of forty-five years. She took great interest in the Sunday-school, and for many years trained the village choir, as she had a good knowledge of music. The issue of this marriage were four children: a daughter who died in infancy; William Boyd, Esq., of North House, Long Benton, Newcastle-on-Tyne; the

and Mr. Robert Boyd, who died in Scotland in 1883.

Having put the Vicarage and its surroundings into order, the next work was the improvement and restoration of the village house of prayer. For a description of the church, which had been rebuilt in the end of the eighteenth century in 'Churchwarden Gothic' style, we refer the reader to p. 169 of this book. It is sufficient to say that it by no means commended itself to the mind of the young Vicar, who had just come from Oxford, at a time when the influence of the Gothic revival was making itself felt, and who was desirous that his own church should have an ecclesiastical and reverent appearance. Accordingly, his plan was to preserve as much as possible of the eighteenth-century church with the sixteenth-century tower. The walls of about two-thirds of the nave were left standing, but the remaining third at the east end was taken down, and a handsome chancel built on the site of the old foundations of a previous chancel of the eleventh century. The hideous semi-Gothic windows were replaced by Gothic windows of the Perpendicular style; a timber roof was raised over the ceiling. But all this was not accomplished without difficulty. In the first place, the proposed alteration ran counter to the feelings of the parish and neighbourhood. The church was said to be 'dry, warm, and comfortable.' The following letter from a friend of one of the chief landowners, who were non-resident, will give the reader some idea of the kind of opposition which the young Vicar had to encounter:

‘DEAR SIR,

‘The —— have requested me to thank you for sending them the Plan of the proposed alterations of Arncliffe Church, which I now return to you. We are sorry that occasion should occur for any difference of opinion between us and yourself as Vicar of the parish, but as we consider the Church in its present state quite adequate for every purpose of Divine worship, we cannot give our concurrence to an alteration which we think unnecessary. The Church, comparatively speaking, is a modern structure, and tho’ its architecture may not accord with the taste of everyone, still, having been built at a considerable expense, and in a way considered at the time sufficient for its intended purpose, we think it ought not to be remodelled without some stronger reason than a matter of taste, which might lead to endless alterations, according to the opinion of each successive Vicar. The —— have contributed to the erection of several Churches and Chapels in places where they have no interest whatever, except as being members of the general community of Christians, and they hope they would not be found backward in contributing to any necessary improvement to the Church of their native parish.’

After mentioning some other objections, the writer adds :

‘And if they can by any means in their power prevent it, they will certainly feel themselves justified in doing so.’

This was enough to damp the spirits of the most ardent architectural reformer, but the Vicar was not to be turned from his purpose. He was in advance of

his neighbours in his ideal of church life and work, and he knew that the time would come when the ill-constructed and hideous structure would be considered a disgrace to the parish. So Mr. Salvin, of Newcastle, was engaged as architect, and the financial difficulty was partly overcome by the generous gift of £100 from the Dawson family; Mr. John Hammond gave £20, and the College contributed to the erection and embellishment of the chancel. The Vicar also took pupils— young men to be prepared for the University. Among these were the father of the present Marquis of Normanby; William, eldest son of the late Sir T. Pilkington; and the late Colonel Starkie, of Huntroyd. A portion of the profits received from this source was devoted to the restoration of the church. At a later date (about 1850) he took boys as pupils to educate with his own sons. They all lived in the Vicarage under the care of a tutor. But there were other hindrances besides local opposition and want of funds. The Archdeacon thus alludes to them:

‘The difficulties were very great, as was the ignorance of everybody concerned. Parker’s most useful “Glossary” was just published (1840), “The Ecclesiologist” not till 1843. In so remote a place it was not easy to find either masons or joiners who knew what an ogee arch was, or to carry out the plans or suggestions of an architect. Something, however, was done, and though not so well as it could be done at this time, still, perhaps as much and as well as could reasonably be expected under the circumstances.’

Certainly it was not an easy task to transform the interior, or exterior, for that matter, into anything of



an ecclesiastical character. Outside every alternate window was removed altogether and replaced by a buttress, and in the place of the rest as good a design for a 'late' window as Mr. Salvin could give. The interior, perhaps, was worse. The three-decker pulpit was certainly a wonderful specimen of its kind; out of the upper or preaching story a good-sized preacher was said to be able to touch the flat ceiling, which extended from east to west, an unbroken surface of unlovely whitewash. Of course, it was not easy to do much to relieve this baldness. On the removal of the ceiling the bare timbers of the roof presented so mean an appearance that anything tolerable was hardly possible. The old-fashioned Vicar in the next parish could never be persuaded to say more of it than that it was a great 'alteration'; he never would say 'improvement.'

At the same time Mr. Boyd turned his attention to the improvement of the educational facilities of his Dale. With the aid of a grant from the College, and some donations from two or three landowners, he rebuilt, in an elegant style, the schoolroom at Arncliffe, which was situated upon the glebe land, and made it more commodious than the old one. In the hamlet of Litton he built, chiefly at his own expense, an entirely new schoolroom; the landowners in that little village seconded his efforts by conveying to him a site suitable for the purpose.

Another branch of work into which Mr. Boyd threw himself heart and soul was the improvement of the schoolmasters in his neighbourhood. He was glad to help those who were already in office by suggesting books for their private reading, and also by recommend-

ing improved methods of teaching in the schools. It was no unusual thing for him to have three or four young men lodging in the village, and undergoing a preliminary training to fit them for their work. This, it must be remembered, was done long before the establishment of training colleges, and nearly a quarter of a century before the Education Act of 1870. He was also careful to set on foot 'Cottage Lectures,' on week-days during a part of the winter months, in the two hamlets of Litton and Hawkswick.

Having thus got his small parish into good working order, and secured help in his clerical work from the incumbent of Halton Gill—a small chapelry at the west end of the parish—who generally acted as curate, and superintended the parish in the absence of the Vicar, he soon had an opportunity afforded to him by his Diocesan (Dr. Longley) of extending his sphere of usefulness. In 1847 the office of Rural Dean was revived in the Diocese of Ripon, and the charge of the North Craven deanery was offered to Mr. Boyd, and accepted by him.

'Amongst the Rural Deans,' says an old friend, 'the Vicar of Arncliffe was *facile princeps*. The appointment to him was not one of mere dignity, but an incentive to greater work in a wider sphere. In his examination of the churches in his deanery he found many of them in a slovenly and dilapidated condition, and by his exhortation and example, these evils were soon remedied, a wave of church restoration passed over the whole district, and now it would be difficult to find any deanery in which the churches are more lovingly cared for.'

He lived to see every church in the deanery restored or rebuilt, Giggleswick being the last ; and at the reopening of that church he preached the sermon, and made an allusion to this fact. There was one other feature connected with this deanery which was more difficult to grapple with, and that was the poverty of the endowments and the large number of small livings. Many of them were considerably less than £100 per annum. It was found then, as it is now, that for ten people who will subscribe to church restoration, only one could be found who would add to the endowment fund. But this did not deter the Rural Dean ; he at once established a fund for the increase of the endowments of small livings in North Craven. This fund has been in existence for more than forty years, and has done such good work that all the livings in the deanery are now well over £100 per annum, and the aim of the present committee of the fund is to raise them all to the modest sum of £200 per annum. Six out of the sixteen benefices are still under that sum.

This work, it must not be forgotten, can be traced to the energy and perseverance of one man, and it might be said to his liberality, for he was a large contributor to this good work. He was blessed with ample means on the death of his father, and he used them as a trust, and not as a possession. He preached, and, what is more, he practised the Christian duty of putting aside and devoting to charitable uses one-tenth of his income. In fact, I think I am right in saying that his liberality must often have exceeded that proportion. Many of the Church societies, local, diocesan, and general, knew him as a liberal subscriber. He was always deeply



interested in the extension of the colonial episcopate. When his old College friend, Bishop Gray, was appointed to Capetown, he was a most generous contributor towards the requirements of church work in that diocese. And it is no secret now that, during one of his visits to Arncliffe in 1852, the Bishop tried to induce the subject of this memoir to allow himself to be nominated for the Bishopric of Natal. Could he have been drawn from his seclusion and consecrated Bishop of Natal, many of those troubles which fell upon the South African Church and crippled the energies of Bishop Gray might never have happened. But how true it is that 'L'homme propose, mais Dieu dispose.'

Mr. Boyd was accustomed to hold frequent Chapters of the clergy at various centres in his wide deanery (the largest in area in the diocese). On such occasions a portion of the Greek Testament was studied, and a paper on some current ecclesiastical topic was read. But it was no easy matter sometimes for one living at Arncliffe to hold such meetings. He has told the writer that on more than one occasion, he has started in his carriage or trap with a spade for the purpose of cutting the snow, which sometimes accumulates in drifts of a great depth on the roads, and forbids all further progress unless they can be removed. He also made periodical visits to the schools of the deanery, and examined the children in secular as well as in religious knowledge, at a time when Government inspection was unknown.

In the year 1860, Bishop Bickersteth showed his appreciation of his labours in the diocese by appointing him to an Honorary Canonry in Ripon Cathedral. The



Bishop writes: 'It has been represented to me that there are several Clergy in the Diocese to whom it would be a source of gratification to accept the appointment to an Honorary Canonry in the Cathedral of Ripon. An "Order in Council" of May, 1844, gives the Bishop the power of founding a certain number of such Canonries in the Cathedral. And I have determined to avail myself of this power. My object in writing to you is to ask if it would be agreeable to you to accept such an appointment, as a mark of the sense which I entertain of your long and valuable services in the Diocese, and of the success which it has pleased God to grant to your labours in Arncliffe. I regret that the office has no emolument, but the only fixed duty is to preach once on some given Sunday in the Cathedral in the course of the year.'

In 1865 the clergy of the archdeaconry gave him a mark of their confidence by electing him to be one of their proctors in Convocation. He was re-elected in 1873, and was a regular attendant at the sessions at York, but he usually gave a silent vote. In fact, he seldom spoke at any public meetings, and never felt very happy in doing so. He once expressed his regret to the writer that he had not taken more pains to acquire a facility in public speaking in his early days.

Busy as he usually was with church work of various kinds in his own diocese, Mr. Boyd did not forget the needs of the church in his native county. He had noticed in visiting Newcastle from time to time that there was much need for increased church accommodation amongst the poorer parishes in the east end of that city. By his initiation, and mainly owing to his energy

and liberality, and with the help of some of the members of his family who still resided in that neighbourhood, the parish of All Saints was divided, and two new churches—St. Michael's, and St. Cuthbert's—were built and endowed.

It has often been assumed that Mr. Boyd, coming from Oxford and from the midst of University life there, must have thought his lot a hard one, when he was cast into such an isolated parish. But this was by no means the case. His life at Arncliffe was very happy, for he had a versatile mind with many interests. He explored the botany of the district. Nothing delighted him more than to set out in an afternoon with a small party of friends in quest of some rare flower, and for several years, when the *Cypripedium calceolus* (the Lady's Slipper) grew in the valley, he tried to preserve it, and to shield its habitat from detection by pinching off the blossoms as soon as they appeared. But in spite of this precaution, it soon became extinct in the Dale. He also made a small collection of fossils of the mountain limestone and of the Yoredale series, which form the geological strata of the parish. He found, perhaps, more pleasure still in his leisure time in making sketches in water-colours of the most beautiful 'views' in which the valley abounds, for he had the eye and skill of the artist, and was very clever with his pencil and rapid in his execution, and he has left in the possession of his son a series of water-colours executed during his frequent Continental tours in France, Switzerland, and Italy, which for an amateur (and I believe he was entirely self-taught) rise to no mean degree of excellence. He was to be seen at his best when he was

surrounded by a group of friends, to whom he would describe the scene of one of the pictures and recall a little incident with which some of the party would be familiar.

The Vicar was a charming host, and he was 'given to hospitality.' At his house in the summer months were to be found 'all sorts and conditions of men,' for he had a large circle of friends and admirers. An over-worked clergyman and his wife, a friend from the South of England, or a casual visitor who had come to see the beauties of the Dale, were all to be found at the hospitable board of the Vicarage. With such pleasant intercourse, with frequent little tours to picturesque spots in Great Britain and the Continent, he passed through his long life pleasantly and happily.

It cannot be said that he was a student, although he took a keen interest in all that was passing in the theological world and possessed a valuable library, but he seldom put his pen to paper except for the purpose of writing his sermons. Accordingly, the literary works which he has left behind are few and scanty. Only one of his sermons was printed, and that was preached at Ripon Cathedral at the Ordination on Trinity Sunday, 1850. It was published at the request of the priests and deacons who were then ordained. The subject was 'The Work of the Ministry'; the text was taken from Eph. iv. 11. The sermon, which consists of a vindication of the Apostolic source of the ministry, with a reminder of its responsibilities, contains several quotations from Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, Bishop Wilson, Jebb, Bull, and S. Chrysostom, and shows signs of wide and careful reading.



As a specimen of his style one or two short quotations are given: 'The form and economy of this ministry we of the Church of England have received from Apostolic times, and have kept it, too, as a sacred trust. Through good report and evil report, in the days of prosperity and adversity, through days of darkness and of light, we have by the good providence of God kept unimpaired that succession of authority and order handed down to us of our fathers, and this our Church teaches in her ordinal . . . and therein she has made express and exact provision for the continuance and permanence for ever of such functions.' Commenting on his text, he continues: 'Nor do the words of the text militate against this assertion. We have a kindred passage in the same Apostle's Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xii. 28). In neither case is the Apostle enumerating the orders of the ministry, but the sundry gifts and graces and abilities which Christ bestowed on His servants for the benefit of His people, for the edifying of His saints. Some of them are the ordinary and some the extraordinary gifts which are needed for building up the Christian Church in her infancy. Any of them might be, and many were, exercised by those who had been duly called to the ministry by the laying-on of Apostolic hands. The prophets, evangelists, and teachers spoken of were not distinct and permanent orders, but vocations and varieties of grace exhibited through the gift of the spirit by those who were apostles, or priests, or deacons. And thus, as our Hooker says, no man's gifts or graces can make him a minister of holy things unless ordination do give him power. And we



nowhere find either prophets or evangelists to have been made so by ordination, but all whom the Church did ordain were either to serve as presbyters or deacons.' And again he says: 'But if one consideration more than another can increase the seriousness of our thoughts on the subject, it is that the ministerial office is the most important which a man can undertake—an office and function in the very service of Christ's mediatorial work. It is impossible to have too high a conception of the reverend dignity of this ministry, as it is to have too low an estimate of ourselves who are entrusted with it. We cannot magnify our office too highly, for wherein we magnify the office, therein we multiply our responsibilities.'

Here, perhaps, is the place to say something about his preaching generally. He was in no sense an orator, and he preferred to preach from a manuscript to his small country congregation. This manuscript he held in his hand, and the closeness with which his eyes followed the page detracted somewhat from the effect of his delivery, which was clear and impressive. His sermons were usually sound, judicious, simple, and eloquent expositions of Scriptural truth, and the matter was always weighty and carefully considered. His habit at Arncliffe was to preach only once on Sunday; in the afternoon he catechized the children in the face of the congregation, as the rubric directs. But in his latter years this practice was given up, and an address, partly extempore or from short notes, was given after the second lesson at Evensong, a custom which is still retained in Arncliffe Church. His zeal and his earnestness made his preaching generally acceptable, and he

was often asked by his clerical brethren to preach in their churches on special occasions. Few who have heard him will ever forget the impassioned manner in which he could plead for the poor of a London slum, or urge the claims of some institution in which he was interested.

In the year 1854 the Yorkshire Architectural Society visited Craven, and Mr. Boyd acceded to the request that he should read a paper on The 'Churches of North Craven.' The paper was afterwards printed in the *Transactions* of the Society, and was illustrated with engravings of some ancient fonts, etc., in the district, from his own drawings. In the year 1878 he was chosen to read a paper at the Church Congress, held at Sheffield, on the difficulties of Church life in small parishes. The title of his paper, which was received with much applause, was the 'Church in the Dales.' He began by saying that a leading journal had asserted 'that after a parish priest has been twenty years in the same place in the country, he is not worth his salt.' 'I have been,' he said, 'twice twenty and more.' His long experience gave him at once the attention of the meeting, and he held it whilst he described his parish and his difficulties. He spoke of the isolation caused by his being sixteen miles from a railway, of the difficulty of getting up meetings in a climate where the rainfall is 60 inches in the year. 'You have fixed the day and the time (for the missionary meeting), and by way of a treat to your people you have arranged for some accredited "Deputation" or friend of the Society's work to come and speak to them. The day comes and the night—a heavy downpour of rain all day

succeeded by a heavier downpour at night. You repair anxiously to the schoolroom; you find the schoolmaster and three children. You wait awhile; six or seven drop in in their soaked garments. With some misgiving you ask the "Deputation" to pour out his eloquence to your ten or twelve people. This happened lately in a neighbouring village, and that was not as bad as once in my own village, where the audience consisted of two—the schoolmaster and one other!

He also advocated the use of laymen to minister in our small hamlets in schoolrooms, or mission-rooms when the people are placed at some distance from the church. It is certain that many a Dissenting chapel would not have been built if this system of licensed lay help had been adopted many years ago in our smaller villages in the way that it has been used in towns and large parishes. And hoping for a further increase of the episcopate, he said: 'It then might be possible that such remote places might be cheered by an occasional visit from the Mother Church, the Parson would be encouraged, would feel his isolation lessened, and would recognise more his close connection with the body; whereas now, in some places, he seems so far from the centre that he feels but indistinctly and feebly the pulses and throbs of the heart. Such a visit would restore and quicken his animation and refresh him in his work. If our Bishops were increased in number, only fancy what a cheer it would be to have him stay in the parsonage for a week, see his schools, his chapels, his Sunday work, and get advice and counsel, and, if need be, reproof.'



He then added a few words on the poverty of the clergy and the need of increasing the endowments, if men of high attainments and ability were to be obtained for country places. And he concluded with these touching words: 'The "Dale Parson" may be sometimes tempted to think that he is removed from all the stirring work that is going on for Christ in the busy city, that, while the battle is raging in the front, he is useless in the rear. Still, he ought, I presume, to be satisfied that, tho' in a little corner, he is yet graciously permitted to be working for the Master; and though the post be distant or insignificant, still, He has called him and placed him there to keep it, and Duty bids him be found watching, like a sentinel at an outpost, watching till the Captain comes.'

His last and most important literary effort was undertaken in his old age. It was only a few weeks before his death that he completed the little work, in conjunction with the present writer, entitled 'Littondale, Past and Present.' In the first part of the book—'Fifty Years in Arncliffe'—he told briefly the story of the Dale. It is a charming little work, in which the antiquities and the main physical features of the Dale and its recent history are simply but impressively related. But it is much to be regretted that Mr. Boyc' did not keep a diary during his long sojourn in Arncliffe. Such a record, giving the natural history of the Dale, with notices of the habits of birds, insects, etc., after the manner of White's 'Selborne,' would have been invaluable; and the Vicar was quite equal to the task, as he was a keen naturalist, and delighted in observing the natural phenomena of the Dale. He is



said to have preserved the Dipper, or Water Ousel (so common here) from extermination in this district. When a decree for its destruction had gone out from the members of a fishing club, on the ground that the bird devoured fish spawn, Mr. Boyd proved that it was guiltless of this crime, and the crusade against the bird ceased. He helped the Meteorological Society by taking the rainfall at Arncliffe for more than forty years, so that now it is one of the oldest records in the country, as the rainfall is still carefully registered at the Vicarage. He was particularly fond of trees, and planted a considerable number on the glebe land at Arncliffe. In his latter years, he founded a little club, which he named the 'Littondale Forestry Club,' the object of which was to induce others in the Dale to plant trees in positions which needed them, and the club effected something in this respect. It is said that on one occasion when he saw a small farmer about to fell a tree in a hedgerow close to the main road, the Vicar offered the owner the value of the tree if he would allow it to stand. His kind offer was accepted, and the tree remains to this day. But his little book is somewhat disappointing as a record of his life and work, and is wanting in personal details. However, we must refer the reader to it if he wishes to know something of the antiquities and ancient manners and customs of the Dale, which, as Mr. Boyd says, had in many instances died out in his incumbency.

To return to the narrative of his life. When he had been forty-five years in the parish the most important preferment of his life came to him. In 1880 the Archdeaconry of Craven became vacant, and Bishop

Bickersteth offered it to the veteran Vicar of Arncliffe. The Bishop writes: 'There is not a clergyman in the Archdeaconry better entitled than yourself to receive this appointment, nor one better qualified to discharge the duties with advantage to the Diocese and Church. I shall therefore be gratified to find that you are willing to undertake the duties, and I trust that you may long be spared to perform them with comfort to yourself, and for the glory of God and the welfare of the Church.' He was then over seventy years of age, and living in a very inaccessible parish. His first impulse was to refuse this important post; but he was prevailed upon by his friends to reconsider the matter, and he finally allowed himself to be appointed to the office.

In the same year he retired from the office of Rural Dean of North Craven. The clergy of the deanery, with other friends and neighbours, showed their appreciation of his long and valued services by presenting him with a portrait in oils of himself, executed by Lehmann, of London, at a cost of £150. The picture is considered by those who are capable of judging as a faithful representation of Mr. Boyd as he appeared at that period of his life. It was certainly a serious undertaking for one of his age to enter upon the duties of an Archdeacon, for we must bear in mind that the Bishopric of Wakefield had not then been founded, so that in addition to Leeds, Bradford, and Keighley, he had the important towns of Halifax, Huddersfield, and Wakefield within his jurisdiction. Living as he did in a corner of the diocese, it was not possible for him to see much of the clergy in the south-east portion of the

West Riding, although his health was usually vigorous and he was full of energy. But counsel and help were constantly being sent to the various parishes of the archdeaconry. The clergy felt that they had in him a friend and an adviser to whom they could apply in all difficulties, and whose long experience, practical turn of mind, genial disposition, sympathy and kindness, endeared him to them. When great efforts were made to raise the necessary amount for the endowment of the Bishopric of Wakefield, he contributed liberally to the fund, and threw himself heartily into the work by attending public meetings, and bringing the matter before the more wealthy laity.

His charges were always carefully prepared and very practical in tone. As a specimen of his style I give his remarks on the 'reading of the clergy': 'I ask your attention while I dwell on a point of much importance to the members of our congregations even on the simple subject of Church history. Without a tolerable knowledge and acquaintance with that in its many branches, he can hardly grasp the true claims and foundations of the Church in England. Such history is our strongest line of defence. If we cannot prove that a branch of the Church Catholic and Apostolic was planted in the land in the earliest ages; that it existed long as an independent branch, flourishing by the side of other such churches in Europe, taking her part in early councils with them; and that although brought under the bondage and usurpation of the Roman See she has happily freed herself from that yoke, and preserved unbroken the continuity of her existence as much as the Churches of



France, Spain, or even Rome herself—if the clergy are not familiar with such history, I see not how on these points they can withstand the objections of the aggressor, whether from the side of Rome or Geneva. Of course, it is not given to all to be learned theologians or even students of divinity. Nay, rather, it is a subject of the gravest moment, and it is too notorious that in the ranks of the priesthood the number of those who devote some portion of each day to theological reading, even to reading a few verses of the Holy Word in the original tongue, is sadly decreasing. In the busy, restless work of our large towns it cannot be denied that it is most difficult to find the needful brief time, perhaps impossible. And yet I cannot but think (tho' peradventure I may be mistaken) that the necessity for such study might take precedence over some other duties which now are allowed a prior claim.' On daily prayer in church he remarks: 'I cannot but think that more men have been turned to pray for themselves by seeing their pastor and example daily repair to his parish church for that purpose than by many an earnest and energetic sermon. We can all recall the trite but touching story of the devoted missionary who said his daily office of prayer in his temporary dwelling, but for a whole twelvemonth had not a single convert. But after a while many flocked to hear, many learnt to believe, and they said they had been primarily touched by his daily going to prayer alone. The effect of such an effort, though palpable on others, is not without its special blessing on the parish priest. The very fact of realizing and feeling conscious of the Divine abiding presence of Christ in his house must, cannot fail to,



refresh that inner divine life which alone is our strength. The first token of the change in the manner of life in the great Apostle was, "Behold, he prayeth" (from 'Charge' in 1883).

When Dr. Boyd Carpenter became Bishop of Ripon he quickly recognised the worth of his Archdeacon, and on several occasions he gracefully alluded to his work at Arncliffe and in the diocese (*cf.* article on 'The Church in the West Riding' in the *Quiver*, vol. xxii., p. 338; and the Bishop's address at the Diocesan Conference in 1893; and *cf.* p. 285 of this memoir).

One of the most interesting gatherings ever seen at Arncliffe during Mr. Boyd's life was that which took place in July, 1885, when he kept his 'jubilee.' The occasion was celebrated in the village with much demonstration of affection and regard, and testimony was evident on all sides of the esteem with which the inhabitants, not only of Arncliffe itself, but of the neighbouring villages, regarded one who had spent a long life among them.

On Sunday, June 28, the Vicar preached at the morning service, repeating the sermon that he had addressed to his parishioners on the occasion of his first coming to reside fifty years before. The interesting event was, moreover, made the subject of special rejoicings on the following Wednesday. There was an early celebration of the Holy Communion, followed by Matins, at which the sermon was preached by the Rev. Canon Sharp, Vicar of Horbury (who had himself recently attained the fiftieth year of residence in his own parish), in which he alluded to the labours of his friend in that remote place for the long period

of fifty years, and to the feelings of thankfulness that should animate the Vicar and his parishioners for the work which God in His providence had allowed him to carry on there. 'It was a sight which rejoiced the heart,' says one who was there, 'to see these two Nestors of the Church supporting each other in the celebration of the jubilee.'

Subsequently the Vicar entertained his friends and neighbours at dinner in a tent erected on the village green, when he was the recipient of a very valuable gift of plate, consisting of a silver-gilt claret-jug with cups, and silver salver, from the parishioners of Arncliffe, Litton, Hawkswick, and Halton Gill (*cf.* 'Littondale, Past and Present,' pp. 47, 48).

It was at this time that he employed men in taking off three or four feet from the top of a rather steep rise in the road about half a mile from the village, which has since been called the 'Vicar's Hill.' His object in doing this was a merciful one. He always regarded this steep portion of the road as a sore trial to his tired horses returning, as they often did, after a journey of thirty-two miles to Skipton and back. And he gave two handsome oak doors, which stand at the entrance into the nave of the church, as a memorial of the jubilee.

This is, perhaps, the place to say something about his theological views and personal characteristics. He left Oxford too early to be influenced by the leaders of the Oxford Movement, but yet he retained to the last a grateful recollection of their work in reviving Church life and in directing attention to some forgotten truths. He could in no sense be called a party man, and was

without a tinge of bitterness towards those who differed from him. His theological standpoint was that of the best English divines of the seventeenth century. Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, Andrewes, and Cosin were his chief authorities. He valued very highly the parochial system of the Church of England, and he believed our shortcomings to be owing chiefly to the fact that this system, as recognised in the formularies of the Church, has never been universally carried out. So he distrusted new methods and deviations from old-established usages. But from his long residence in a small country parish, he sometimes failed to realize how much the nation by the vast increase of population had outgrown the Church's methods in many places, and that it was impossible to carry out in every detail the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer under such altered conditions. For instance, the baptism of infants without sponsors, or with only the father and mother as sponsors, which now so often takes place in large parishes, would have been a great shock to him. In his own parish, he not only insisted on sureties, as the rubric requires, but also kept for many years a book in which the names of all god-parents were entered when the register of the baptism was made.

He held very strongly to the *via media* position, and may be said to have been more 'advanced,' if we may use a modern phrase, in his theological views and in his mental attitude than he was in his practice. For nearly forty years he never had more than one celebration of the Holy Communion monthly in the parish, and that was after Matins. In his latter years the Holy Communion was celebrated twice in the month, and



early Communion only four or five times in the year—on the fifth Sunday in the month. There was no daily service until about the year 1879 or 1880.

Mr. Boyd was diligent in visiting the sick and the whole, and when visiting the former usually said on entering the house the opening words of the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, 'Peace be to this house.' He took great interest in the religious education of the children of the valley, and it was well worth a visit to the parish at Whitsuntide to hear him catechize the children as they stood after the second lesson at Evensong in the aisle of the church and answered the questions put to them by their venerable Vicar. He was of middle height, and stood very erect even in old age, with keen, intelligent eyes, and broad forehead. The freshness of his complexion gave him a youthful appearance long after he had reached middle age, and in his latter years his snow-white hair added a charm to his venerable appearance. His manners were distinguished by the greatest courtesy. He was not without a keen sense of humour, but it was not every kind of humour which appealed to him. He was never able to read or appreciate the works of Dickens and Thackeray, and for this reason, they were almost unknown to him. He inherited from his father a full appreciation and acquaintance with the plays of Shakespeare. Sir Walter Scott was his favourite novelist, and he read in his latter years the works of many recent writers of fiction, but generally with scant approval.

His conversation was always instructive and interesting; not that he was what would be called a great talker—on the contrary, at times he was very reticent—



but when surrounded by genial friends his conversation was flavoured by many 'wise saws and modern instances.' The versatility of his mind, and the breadth of interests, made him a most charming companion, for here the adage of the Roman writer could appropriately be applied—*Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto*. He had a strong constitution, and was very active even to the last. When he had reached the age of seventy, at the annual village festival, he challenged the men of the same age in his parish to a race, but no one ventured to contest the matter with the Vicar. He was very fond of skating, a form of recreation in which he seldom had an opportunity of indulging, as the river at Arncliffe is so rapid that it is rarely frozen over; but at a little tarn on the hilltops and on the mill-pond, he sometimes engaged in his favourite pastime. At the age of seventy, he did the outside edge backwards, and then laid aside his skates for ever.

He helped his parishioners in secular as well as in spiritual matters. The village pump owes its origin to his liberality, and he set on foot a flower and poultry show, which did good work for some years until the population of the Dale dwindled so much that it became very difficult to get sufficient entries to make the event attractive. It was at last discontinued and a village festival substituted, which is still carried on, and affords an opportunity for the inhabitants and friends of the valley to meet annually under the shadow of their parish church as a united community. To encourage the better production of butter, in which it is said that the Dane and Breton surpass us, he instituted a butter show, at which prizes were given for

the best specimens. In these and other ways he showed that he had the interests of the Dale at heart.

His last work in the parish was the enlargement of the churchyard, which was sadly needed. The undertaking was accomplished in a very simple manner and with little expense. There was a suitable piece of waste ground lying on the south-west side of the churchyard containing some trees, which had been planted by himself, and many loose stones. Some of the trees were cut down, the surface was covered with soil gathered from the roadside and elsewhere by the Vicar's cart and those of some of the farmers, who voluntarily gave this help. A wall was built enclosing and joining the waste land to the old churchyard, and as there was no lord of the manor in the township of Arncliffe, the ground was conveyed to the Vicar and churchwardens by the principal inhabitants and landowners, and thus, at the cost of only a few pounds, the burial-ground of the Dale was enlarged and the new portion made suitable for interments, and in 1890 it was consecrated by the Bishop of Ripon at the time of a Confirmation visit. To commemorate the event the Vicar caused a large stone cross to be erected in the new ground, and it forms a pleasing and conspicuous object in the churchyard.

The Archdeacon, who had now exceeded the age of eighty years, in consequence of increasing infirmities and long distance from a railway, was desirous of relinquishing his office. He sent in his resignation, but the Bishop of Ripon, who knew his worth, was loath to part with so distinguished a veteran, and the deed of resignation remained unsigned. Accordingly, at the

time of his decease, in 1893, he was still Archdeacon of Craven. The end came rather suddenly. He had been able in his latter years to escape the cold climate of Upper Wharfedale by a sojourn in the South during the early spring months, but an attack of peritonitis in May, followed by another in July, proved too much for his senile frame, and he succumbed to the disease on July 18, 1893.

During his last illness he was much comforted by the presence and ministrations of his old friend, the late Canon Bittleston. His eldest son, Mr. W. Boyd, in whose presence he passed away, frequently came over from Newcastle to see him, and, as long as he was able to see them, he was cheered by the visits of many devoted friends and neighbours.

On receiving the news of his death, the Bishop wrote as follows, to Mr. W. Boyd: 'I am grieved for you and the very heavy loss which has befallen you. May God, your father's God, be near to you and be your stay. You have a rare, a unique treasure, in the memory of your father's life and character—a life singularly pure and devoted, a character bright, single-minded, and full of love. I cannot speak of what his loss is to us in the diocese; no Bishop ever had a truer, wiser, or kinder right hand than he. I shall hope to be with you at two o'clock. I shall be glad to be allowed to take part in any way which can show my love for him, reverence for his character, and my grateful sense of his true service to the Church.'

The funeral took place on July 21, when a large concourse of people from far and near assembled around the grave as the body of the 'Patriarch of the Dales'



was lowered to its rest. Few who were present will ever forget the address which the Bishop of Ripon gave in the church, as in simple and yet eloquent words, founding his remarks upon Ps. xvi. 11, he dwelt upon the lessons of his long and useful life. The Archdeacon was buried in a coffin made from the wood of an elm-tree which he had planted when he first came to Arncliffe. He had the tree cut down a few years before he died, and placed in the hands of the village carpenter for this purpose.

Soon after Mr. Boyd's decease the present Vicar made an effort to erect a suitable memorial of his predecessor's life and work. This proposal was heartily supported by the parishioners and friends of the Archdeacon. At a meeting held in the schoolroom at Arncliffe, a resolution was passed that an oak screen should be placed in the church. The sum of £200 was soon collected for this purpose, and the handsome screen which now stands at the entrance to the chancel was designed by Mr. Tute of London. As it was the Archdeacon's wish to have such an ornament in the church, and he had even gone so far towards carrying out his intentions as to procure some designs for the work, it was thought by all that this was a most appropriate memorial.

His two surviving sons, Mr. W. Boyd and the Ven. C. T. Boyd, also placed a stained-glass window in the south wall of the chancel to the memory of their father. The window was the work of Messrs. Heaton, Butler and Baynes, who had already designed a window to the memory of their mother; the design represented the rebuilding of the Temple by Zerubbabel and Nehemiah.



A brass plate under the window bears this inscription :

‘Ad majorem Dei gloriam. Gulielmus Boyd, Archidiac, Craven et hujus Parochiæ fidelis sacerdos per quinquaginta et octo annos, hanc sacrosanctam ecclesiam instauravit et ornavit ob. Julii xviii., A.D. 1893, ætatis suæ, 84. In piam memoriam delecti patris hanc fenestram filii Gulielmus et Carolus poni curaverunt.’

It was no light task which the present Vicar entered upon when he resolved to take up the work of such a pastor, for University College had determined, for reasons which it is not necessary to give here, to withdraw the liberal allowance of £420 per annum (in addition to the glebe) which they made to Mr. Boyd, leaving only a pension of £20 per annum and glebe land worth £60, as the stipend of the future Vicar. The Archdeacon, who was aware of the resolution of the College, refused one or two offers of more valuable livings, and in his lifetime made the munificent gift of £1,000 to increase the endowment, and he induced the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to give the same amount. But on account of the large size of the Vicarage and grounds, and the diminishing population of the Dale, it was decided that the perpetual curacy of Halton Gill should be united to the mother church of Arncliffe, which was effected by an ‘Order in Council’ dated January 29, 1894.

This memoir may be appropriately brought to a conclusion by calling the reader’s attention to these eloquent words, which were addressed to the Ripon Diocesan Conference by Dr. Boyd Carpenter in 1893 :

‘When on that bright July afternoon we gathered round the open grave at Arncliffe, and laid him by the side of his wife under the shadow of the church he had loved so well, we felt that we had lost one who, as a parish priest, was an example to all, as a large-hearted man had been the supporter of many, and as a kind, a warm-hearted, and steadfast friend, had left the memory of his constancy and his love to add lustre to the brightness of a life which, if lived in remoteness, had never grown stale, and which, though passed in comparative obscurity, had shed an undying brightness through the whole diocese. When 200 years ago the Irish laid Bishop Bedell to his rest, the united utterance of friend and foe was this : ‘*Sit anima mea cum Bedello.*’ And there are very few of us who would not (changing the name of Bedell to Boyd) utter that prayer as we think of the saintly, sweet-tempered, and sagacious servant of God who lies under the shelter of the hills at Arncliffe.’

## INDEX

- ADAM, Mr., 181  
 Addingham, 137  
 Airton, 57  
 All Saints, living of, 74  
 American War, 187  
 Amherst, Lord, 189  
 Appleby, 17, 19, 31, 69  
     Castle, 8, 31  
     Church, 9-11, 132  
 Armitstead, Mr., 74, 79, 80  
 Arncliffe, 130, 158, 161, 216, 250,  
     252  
     Church, 16, 169, 257, 268  
     Vicarage, 156, 254  
 Assheton family, 29  
 Assheton, Sir J., 32, 60, 182  
     R., 185
- Ballard, F., 136, 149  
 Bampton Lectures, 172  
 Barbadoes, 85  
 Barden Tower, 8, 9, 11, 15  
 Barrymore, Lord, 76  
 Baynard Castle, 7  
 Beamsley, 19, 21, 154  
 Benson, Dr., 232  
 Beverley School, 156  
 Bickersteth, Bishop, 263, 273  
 Binfield, 71-73, 75-77, 83, 86, 90,  
     108  
 Birmingham, St. Martin's, 157,  
     179  
 Birtwhistle, W., 203  
 Bittleston, Canon, 282  
 Boconnoc, 28  
 Bolton Abbey, 155, 226  
 Book of Common Prayer, 167
- Booth, Sir G., 44, 54  
 Boscobel, 13  
 Bounty, Queen Anne's, 147, 161  
 Boyd, Archdeacon, 130, 216,  
     247-285  
     his charge, 274, 275  
     his jubilee, 276  
 Boyd, Rev. C., 256, 283  
     R., 250  
     W., 256, 282, 283  
 Bracken, Mr., 126  
 Bracknell, 75  
 Brasenose College, 182  
 Brewood, 157, 171, 179  
 Briefs, 167  
 Brough Castle, 8, 15  
 Brougham, 8, 12, 17, 18  
 Buckden, 15, 16  
 Burgon, Dean, 184  
 Burke, E., 176  
 Burnet, Bishop, 53  
 Burton Pynsent, 77, 83, 84  
 Buxton, 148
- Calton, 58  
 Cambridge, 69, 114, 237  
 Carlisle, Bishop of, 74, 78, 79  
     130, 138  
 Carpenter, Dr. Boyd, 276, 282,  
     284  
 Carr, James, 220  
     John, 219  
     Thomas, 154, 220  
     William, 218-233  
 Cawsand Bay, 187  
 Chalmers, Dr., 139  
 Chapman, Mr., 161

Charles I., 7, 8  
 Chatham correspondence, 70  
 Chatham, Earl of, 71, 88, 92  
     Lady, 70, 77, 83, 86, 102  
 Chester, 243  
 Chesterfield, Lord, 88  
 Clapham, C., 195  
     Elizabeth, 119  
 Clarendon, Lord, 47, 48  
 Clark, Professor Le Gros, 149  
     G., 249  
 Clifford Barony, 5  
 Clifford, George, 1  
     Lady Anne, 1-24  
 Clitheroe, 184, 185  
 Coleridge, Hartley, 6  
 Collinson, 69  
 Commons, House of, 36  
 Convocation, 178  
 Corlass, T., 168  
 Craven dialect, 229  
     heifer, 225  
 Creed, Major, 49  
 Croft, Dr., 154-179  
 Cromwell, Oliver, 25, 36, 38, 40,  
     42, 43, 181  
     Richard, 43, 44  
 Cropper, Miss, 241  
 Cumberland, Margaret, Countess  
     of, 2, 19  
 Curzon family, 185  
*Cypripedium calceolus*, 265  
  
 Dales, the, 252  
 Dalston, 131  
 Daniel, Mr. S., 3  
 Davies, J. H., 107  
 Dawson, Mr., 162, 213, 219, 259  
 Dawson, Rev. J., 196, 202, 204  
 Denham, Mr. J., 2  
 Devonshire, sixth Duke of, 220,  
     233  
 Dipper, the, 272  
 Dobinson, Miss, 144  
 Donne, Dr., 23  
 Douglas, Bishop, 78, 82  
 Dugdale's 'Monasticon,' 181  
 Dunbar, 34  
 Dyneley, Rev. R., 202, 205  
  
 Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 284

Edgehill, 53  
 Eldon, Lord, 156, 178  
 Elgin, Lord, 156, 175  
 Eliot, Miss, 83  
*Enchantress*, the, 187  
  
 Fairfax, General, 29, 30, 62  
 Farnley Hall, 59  
 Faulder, Mr., 132  
 Fleetwood, Colonel, 37  
 Fosters of Nether Hesleden, 213  
 Fox, Sir W., 249  
 Freeman, Professor, 100  
  
 Gardiner, S. R., 41, 61  
 Garforth, Thomas, 203  
 George III., 87, 93, 102, 141, 191  
 Gerrard, 'History of Plants,' 101  
 Giggleswick, 117, 120, 123, 148,  
     218, 234, 243, 262  
 Gisborne, Mr., 177  
 Gisburne, 181  
 Gloucester, 71, 77, 78  
 Gray, Bishop, 248, 263  
 Greenwich, 126  
 Grey, Major-General, 194  
 Grimston, W., 156  
 Gundrada, 27  
  
 Halhead, Miles, 56  
 Halton Gill, 66, 69, 75, 81, 284  
 Hammond, Mr. J., 259  
 Harcourt, Archbishop, 251  
 Hardy, Admiral, 188, 193  
 Hatton, Lord, 50, 55, 63  
 Heber, R., 203  
 Hewitt, Miss J., 130  
 Hill, Timothy, 75  
 Hobson, Rev. S., 175  
 Hodder Bridge, 32  
 Horse's Head, 212  
 Howes, Rev. A. P., 221, 226  
 Howson, J. S., 234-246  
     Mrs., 244  
 Hubberholme, 161, 164  
 Hulton Park, 182  
 Hurtle's 'Malham,' 55, 200  
 Hutchinson, Memoirs of, 37  
  
 Ibbotson, Mr., 161  
 Ingleby, Charles, 203



Ingleby, John, 202  
 Ingoldsby, Colonel, 53  
 Inverkeithing, 34  
 Ireton, 37

James I., 5  
 Jenkinson, C., 190  
 Jenner, Dr., 98  
 Jones, W., 156

Kay, Mr., 161  
 Kendal, 32  
 Kennedy, Rev. Rann, 179  
 Kettlewell, 15, 16, 161  
 Kilnsey Crag, 250  
 Knowles, Mr., 72  
     Martin, 59, 89, 108  
     Mrs., 81

Lambert, General, 25-65, 182  
     Dorothy, 69  
     John, jun., 56  
     Mrs., 28, 58

Landseer, Sir E., 231

Langeliffe, 117

Langdale, 30, 31

Langhorne, 69

Lascelles, Mr., 211

Law, Mr., 128, 129, 132

Lawrence, Sir T., 200

Lehmann, 273

Lent, 164

Lincoln, 142, 147, 150

Lindley, Rev. T., 115, 208-217

Liverpool College, 239

Lister, M., 181

    N., 184

    Sir T., 180

    Sir W., 28

Litton, 78, 260

    Hall, 74

'Littondale, Past and Present,'  
     250, 271

London, Fire of, 16

Longley, Dr., 261

Lowe, Robert, 248

Ludlow, E. 38, 39, 49, 51

Macbeth, 230

Malham, Kirkby, 26, 57

    Kirkby, Church, 26, 58, 59

Malham Tarn, 15, 198

Mallerstang, 13, 16

Marston Moor, 29

Matilda, Queen, 27

Meadley, Dr., 121, 132, 152

Metcalfe, R., 212

Meteorological Society, 272

Middleton, Sir A. E., 57

Middop, 186

Milton, Lord, 211

Monk, General, 50, 52

Musgrave, 130

Nappa, 15

Natal, Bishopric of, 263

National Gallery, 200

    Society, 215, 224

Newby, Mr., 248

Newcastle-on-Tyne, 250, 256, 264,  
     282

Nicholas, St., Isle, 56

Nieuwentyt, 149

Normanby, Marquis of, 259

North, Lord, 189

Northallerton, 51

Northwich, 45

Ordericus Vitalis, 27

Oxenden, Bishop, 248

Oxford, 4, 74, 183, 219, 248

Paine, Tom, 137

Paley, William, 116-153

Parker, Mr. J., 185

    T. L., 201

    Glossary, 259

Parkinson, 208

Pembroke, Earl of, 6

Pendragon Castle, 8, 13, 15

Peterborough, 117

Pitt, W., 66, 70-72, 102, 112-114

Plague of London, 16

Plumptre, Rev. F., 248, 255

Pontefract, 33

Powell, Mr., 187

Preston, W., 78, 159

Price, Dr., 174

Pugin, Mr., 170

Rainbow, Bishop, 1, 10, 17, 19, 24

Ramsden, Sir J., 192, 217

- Ribble, the, 180  
 Ribblesdale, Lord, 180-207  
     fourth Lord, 28, 199  
 Rogers, Poet, 14  
 Rooper, W. H., 248  
 Roumare, 181  
 Routh, Dr., 219  
 Rugge, 52  
 Russell, Lady Margaret, 2  
  
 Sackville, Richard, 4  
     Thomas, 4  
 Sacrament, 10  
 Salvin, Mr., 259, 260  
 Savoy House, 3  
 Scotsthrope, 57  
 Scott, Sir Gilbert, 242  
 Saul, Margaret, 234  
 Settle, 15, 32, 35, 59, 76, 81, 117,  
     235  
 Sharp, Canon, 276  
 Sheffield Church Congress, 269  
 Sidgwick, Mr. W., 232  
 Simeon, Rev. C., 238  
 Skipton, 8, 9, 167  
     Castle, 8, 11, 12, 13  
 Skirfare, River, 250  
 Smith, 'Wealth of Nations,' 106  
 Stanwix, 138  
 Starbotton, 16  
 Storer, Rev. J., 205-207  
 Stowell, Baron, 156  
  
 Taylor, Mrs., 3  
     W., 108  
 Tennant, Miles, 159, 161  
 Terrick, Dr., 128  
 Test Act, 157  
 Thoresby, R., his diary, 58  
 Thurloe, Secretary, letter to, 65  
 Thwing, 178  
 Tomline, Bishop, 70, 140  
 Trinity College, Cambridge, 236  
 Tucker, 149  
 Tute, Mr., 283  
 Twining, G. B., 249  
     Miss Isabella, 256  
  
 University College, Oxford, 155,  
     219, 248, 259, 284  
  
 Vicar's Hill, 277  
  
 Wade, Cuthbert, 15, 16  
 Wainman, R., 202  
 Wakefield, Battle of, 1  
     bishopric, 274  
 Walker, R., 208, 215  
 Walpole anecdotes, 160  
 Ward, James, 199  
 Wargrave, 76  
 Watkinson, John, 227  
 Watson, Bishop, 125  
 Wearmouth, Bishop, 141, 142,  
     144  
 Whitaker, 'History of Craven,'  
     3, 5, 14, 23, 26, 29, 54, 67, 68,  
     170, 182, 198, 221, 228  
 White's 'Selborne,' 271  
 Whitehaven, 79  
 Whitelock's 'Memorials,' 28, 35  
 Wild cattle, 182, 205  
 Williamson, Sir J., 22, 24  
 Wilmot, Sir R., 75  
 Wilson, Edward, 66-113, 141  
     Gloucester, 76, 84, 87, 97  
     H. A., 219  
     Mathew, 168  
     Sir Giffin, 72, 83, 90, 95, 97,  
     111  
     Thomas, 73, 89, 90, 114  
 Windsor, 71, 72, 78, 80, 86, 95  
 Worcester, Battle of, 35  
 Wordsworth, W., 208, 216, 221  
 Wrightson, Captain, 192  
 Wyatt, James, 183  
 Wyvill, Rev. C., 175  
  
 Yanwath, 14  
 Yates, Mr., 69, 131  
 York, Archbishop of, 209, 251  
 Yorkshire Architectural Society,  
     269

## A LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THIS WORK

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G., Bolton Abbey.  
The Most Hon. the Marquess of Ripon, K.G., Studley  
Royal, Ripon.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Haddington, K.T., Tynning-  
ham, N.B.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, K.G., K.T., Berke-  
ley Square, W.

The Right Hon. Viscount Mountgarret, Nidd Hall, Ripley.

The Right Hon. Lord Ribblesdale, Gisburne Park,  
Clitheroe (20).

The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, Kirkham Abbey,  
Yorkshire.

The Right Hon. Lord Masham, Swinton.

The Hon. Lord Henry Bentinck, M.P., Underley Hall.

The Hon. Lady Adela Larking, Layston Lodge, Bunting-  
ford.

Ackerley, Rev. G. B., M.A., Mytton Vicarage, Whalley.

Alderson, Rev. W. H., M.A., St. Bees.

Alexander, W. L., J.P., Oak Hill, Lorton (2).

Anderton, Rev. R. F. R., B.A., Hubberholme Vicarage.

Armitage, Sir George, Bart., Kirklees Park, Brighouse.

Assheton, Ralph, J.P., Downham Hall, Clitheroe.

Atkinson, Rev. E., D.D., Clare College Lodge, Cambridge.

Atkinson, Miss, Hawkswick, Skipton.

- Barker, Rev. T. C., M.A., Carleton Vicarage, Skipton.  
Barns, Rev. T., M.A., Hilderstone Vicarage, Stone.  
Batty, Thomas, Hawkswick, Skipton.  
Bensley, Rev. W. J., M.A., Giggleswick School.  
Benson, Mrs., Tremans, Horsted Keynes, Sussex.  
Benson, A. C., M.A., Eton College, Windsor.  
Bittleston, Mrs., The Crescent, Ripon.  
Boraston, Mrs., Tranmere, Branksome Park, Bournemouth.  
Boyd, W., North House, Longbenton (3).  
Boyd, Rev. C. T., M.A., Red House, Guildford.  
Boyd, Mrs. C. T., Red House, Guildford.  
Boyd, Mrs. Hugh, Langhurst, Wormley Hill, Godalming.  
Boyd, Mrs. G. F., Moorhouse, Leamside.  
Bland, J. A., Burnsall, Skipton.  
Bramley, Mrs., Litton, Skipton.  
Brayshaw, Thomas, Settle.  
Brereton, Rev. E. W., M.A., Kildwick Vicarage, Keighley.  
Brewin, Rev. C., M.A., 1, Peveril Drive, The Park, Nottingham.  
Bridgeman, Rev. E. R. O., M.A., Blymhill Rectory, Shifnal.  
Brigg, William Anderton, M.A., LL.M., Kildwick Hall, Keighley.  
Brightman, Rev. F. E., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.  
Brown, Mrs., Hyde Lodge, Duchy Road, Harrogate.  
Clayton, G. E., Chapel House, Kilnsey (2).  
Cockerill, Rev. J. W., Kettlewell Vicarage, Skipton.  
Cooper, Rev. Canon J. H., M.A., Cuckfield Vicarage, Sussex.  
Cooper, Mrs., Water Street, Skipton.  
Cragg, R. B., Holme House, Embsay.  
*Craven Herald Co.*, The, High Street, Skipton.  
Crowther, Joseph, Colvend, Grassington.  
Crowther, John, Ridley House, Grassington.



- Dale, Miss, Kettlewell, Skipton.  
Dales, H. C., Post Office, Burnsall.  
Darwin, Francis, J.P., Creskeld, Arthington.  
Dawson, Lieutenant-Colonel, Hartlington, Skipton.  
Dawson, Miss, Langcliffe Hall, Settle.  
Douthwaite, Thomas, Menstone.  
Dowle, Rev. T., M.A., 2, Grosvenor Terrace, Ilkley.  
Duncan, Rev. Canon, The Vicarage, Calne, Wilts.  
Dunkerley, E., 8, Thursby Square, Burnley.  
Eddy, J. Ray, The Grange, Carleton.  
Edmondson and Co., High Street, Skipton (3).  
Fagan, Rev. E. R., M.A., Wold Newton Rectory, North  
Thoresby (2).  
Farrah, John, Jefferies Coate, Harrogate.  
Fawcett, Miss, B.Sc., 4, Hampstead Hill Gardens,  
London, N.W.  
Fennell, Mrs. C., West House, Agbrigg, Wakefield (2).  
Ferguson, Dr., Colne Road, Burnley.  
Ferrand, W., J.P., St. Ives, Bingley.  
Foster, John, Douk Ghyll, Horton-in-Ribblesdale.  
Fox, F. Douglas, 19, Kensington Square, W.  
Fremantle, the Hon. and Very Rev. W. H., D.D., the  
Deanery, Ripon.  
Garnett, Mrs., Litton, Skipton.  
Gibson, Rev. E. C. S., D.D., the Vicarage, Leeds.  
Hainsworth, L., Oakwell Cottage, Farsley, Leeds.  
Hall, Rev. D. R., Kirkby Malham Vicarage.  
Hammond, Miss, Bridge End, Arncliffe (3).  
Handby, E., Settle.  
Hobson, G. A., Coverdale Lodge, Richmond, Surrey.  
Holberton, Miss, The Nook, Sevenoaks.  
Howson, Rev. G., M.A., Christ Church Vicarage, Salford.  
Hutchings, John, Race Field, Altrincham.  
Illingworth, W., J.P., 3, Cornwall Mansions, Kensington  
Court, W.

- Ingham, William, Langcliffe, Settle.  
Johnstone, Miss, Bayard's Lodge, Knaresborough.  
Kendall, Welbury, The Raikes, Skipton.  
Knowles, Martin, Bend Yate, Long Preston (2).  
Knowles, Miss, Halton Gill, Skipton.  
Lambert, Colonel, F.S.A., Fairlawn House, near Epsom.  
Lambert, Rev. C. E., M.A., Bishopthorpe, York.  
Larking, Mrs., Brondesbury (6).  
Leadman, Dr., F.S.A., Oak House, Pocklington.  
Linney, Rev. W. E., B.A., The Vicarage, Settle.  
Lister, Leonard, Malham, Bell Busk, Leeds.  
Long, William, Thelwall Heys, Warrington.  
Longbottom, David, 6, Bolton Road, Silsden.  
Lowe, Rev. T. Hill, Cononley Vicarage, Keighley.  
Magdalen College, Oxford, The Library.  
Markendale, Richard, Apsley Crescent, Bradford (2).  
Marsden, Miss, Inglewood, Torquay.  
Marsham-Townshend, The Hon. R., 5, Chesterfield Street,  
Mayfair, W.  
Master, Miss, Ashcroft, Chatburn.  
Metcalf, James, Prospect House, Arncliffe.  
Metcalf, Miss Margaret, Arncliffe.  
Middleton, Sir A. E., Bart., Belsay Castle, Newcastle-on-  
Tyne (3).  
Miller, Marmaduke, The Falcon, Arncliffe.  
Moody, Charles E., Springfield, Breinton, Hereford.  
Moody, Miss Mary, Horkesley, Monkland, Leominster.  
Morgan, Mrs., 134, Holland Road, Kensington.  
Morkill, J. W., J.P., Newfield Hall, Bell Busk, viâ Leeds.  
Morrison, Walter, M.A., J.P., Malham Tarn, Settle (4).  
Muff, Frederic B., Wallbeck, Ilkley.  
Newall, Mrs. Arthur, Fisherton-de-la-Mere House, Wylke.  
Nowell, Mrs., 25, Rivers Street, Bath.  
Oliver, Rev. G., B.A., St. John's Rectory, Longton.

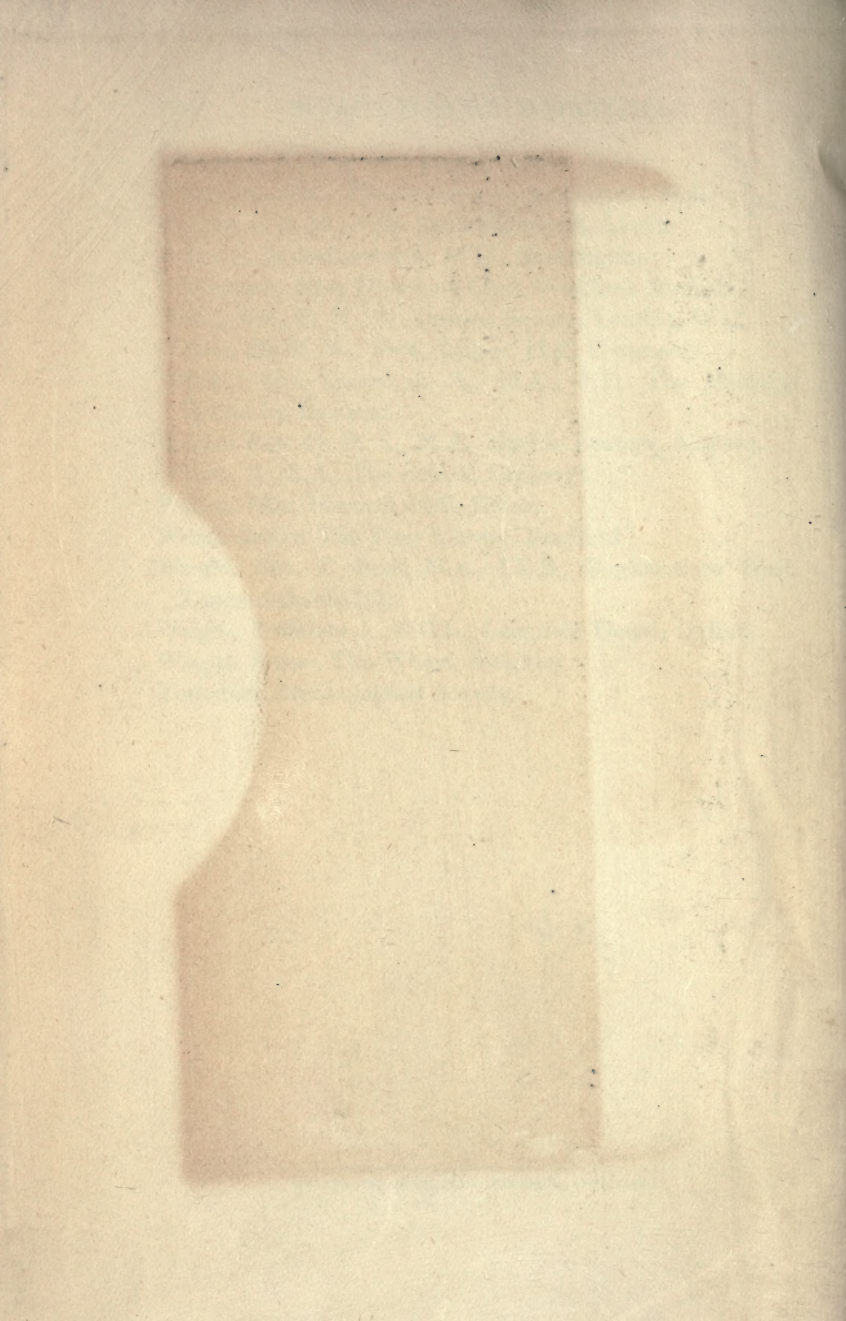
- Outhwaite, Miss, Burley-in-Wharfedale.  
Paget, Miss, Springfield, Skipton.  
Paine, Alfred, 21, Essex Street, Strand, London.  
Paley, George, 103, Upper Richmond Road, Putney, S.W.  
Paley, H. A., Escowbeck Cottage, Caton, Lancs (2).  
Parker, Colonel, Browsholme Hall, Clitheroe (2).  
Pearson, Professor Karl, University College, London.  
Peate, J., Nunroyd House, Guiseley.  
Peel, Mrs., Knowlmere Manor, Clitheroe.  
Pembroke College, Cambridge, The Library.  
Pierson, Rev. W. B., M.A., Rothwell Vicarage.  
Poppellwell, John B., Beacon Hill, Ilkley.  
Porter, Mrs., Claines Vicarage, Worcester.  
Powell, Sir Francis S., Bart., M.P., Horton Old Hall,  
Bradford.  
Preston, Captain J. N., Flashby Hall, Gargrave.  
Preston, Miss, The Cottage, Litton, Skipton.  
Proctor, Richard, Oak Mount, Burnley.  
Purey-Cust, The Very Rev. A. P., D.D., The Deanery,  
York.  
Rathmell, B., Bank Newton, Gargrave.  
Robinson, A. J., Whaddon House, Kent Road, Harrogate.  
Robinson, F. D., Clitheroe Castle.  
Robinson, Colonel G., Overdale, Skipton.  
Robinson, J., Stonelands, Litton, Skipton.  
Robinson, Rowland, Park Gate, Gisburne.  
Sandbury, Rev. W. B., M.A., Queen's Gate, Victoria Park, E.  
Sanders, Rev. F., M.A., F.S.A., Hoylake Vicarage, Birken-  
head.  
Scott, John, junior, Croft House, Skipton.  
Sergeantson, Mrs., Hanlith, Malham.  
Shackleton, William, Pudsey.  
Share, Rev. F. A. C., M.A., Linton Rectory, Skipton.  
Shuffrey, H. J., 30, Walton Well Road, Oxford.

- Shuffrey, L. A., Thorncote, Ealing, W.  
Shuffrey, C. J., 3, King's Square, Bridgewater.  
Sidgwick, Rev. J. Benson, M.A., Ashby Parva Rectory,  
Lutterworth.  
Sidgwick, Edward, 25, Collingham Road, London, S.W.  
Slacke, R. B., The Rookery, Chatburn.  
Slinger, R. M. J., Litton, Skipton.  
Smith, Rev. Irton, M.A., St. Margaret's Vicarage, Ilkley.  
Smith, Mrs., Fence End, Thornton-in-Craven.  
Speight, Harry, Crow Nest, Bingley.  
Stables, Mrs. H., 2, College Lawn, Cheltenham.  
Stackhouse, Mrs., Taitlands, Stainforth.  
Stansfeld, Miss, Belfield, Giggleswick.  
Stansfield, Miss, Buckden Hall, Skipton (2).  
Stavert, Rev. W. J., M.A., F.S.A., Burnsall Rectory,  
Skipton.  
Stubbs, Misses, St. Leonard's, Evesham Road, Cheltenham.  
Summers, George, Arncliffe.  
Sunderland, John, Aire View House, Skipton.  
Sykes, Rev. J. P., Rathmell Vicarage, Settle.  
Taylor, Rev. R. V., B.A., Melbecks Vicarage, Richmond.  
Taylor, William, Halton Gill, Skipton.  
Thompson, Mrs. C. Meysey, Hillthorpe House, Scarborough.  
Thomson, F. Whitley, M.P., Savile Heath, Halifax.  
Thoresby Society, The.  
Turner, Rev. J., M.A., Ingleton Vicarage, Kirkby Lonsdale.  
Twining, Miss, 68, Lansdowne Road, W.  
Twining, Miss, The Lodge, Bitteswell, Lutterworth.  
Walker, Henry, 37, Briggate, Leeds.  
Ward, J. W., J.P., South Royde, Halifax.  
Ward, George, Buckingham Terrace, Headingley.  
Watson, Rev. J. C., M.A., Harden, Bingley.  
Wette, Mrs. de, Hampton Court House, Hampton Court.



- Whitaker, F., The Post Office, Bolton Abbey.  
Wilkinson, Mrs., The Grange, Kirkcudbright, N.B.  
Wilkinson, J. H., Villa Rosa, Horsforth, Leeds.  
Wilks, S. L. Butterworth, M.D., Grassington.  
Williamson, Miss, Glemham Hall, Wickham Market.  
Willis, Mrs., C. W., 33, Gordon Square, London, W.C.  
Wilson, Sir M. W., Bart., Eshton Hall, Gargrave.  
Wilson, Rev. Canon, J. A., M.A., J.P., The Rectory,  
Bolton-by-Bowland.  
Wilson, Rev. H. R. A., M.A., Marton Rectory, Skipton.  
Wilson, B., B.A., The School, Sedbergh.  
Wilson, Miss, Seacroft Hall, Leeds.  
Wood, Butler, The Free Library, Bradford.  
Woodd, Rev. T. Basil, M.A., LL.B., Oughtershaw Hall,  
Langstrothdale (2).  
Wright, Professor J., D.C.L., Langdale House, Oxford.  
Wright, James, The Whins, Keighley.  
Yorkshire Archæological Society.
- 44

210





DA  
670  
C88S5

Shuffrey, William Arthur  
Some Craven worthies

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

---

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

---



